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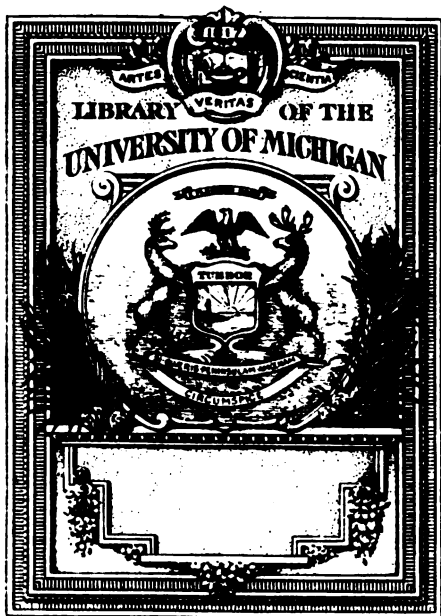
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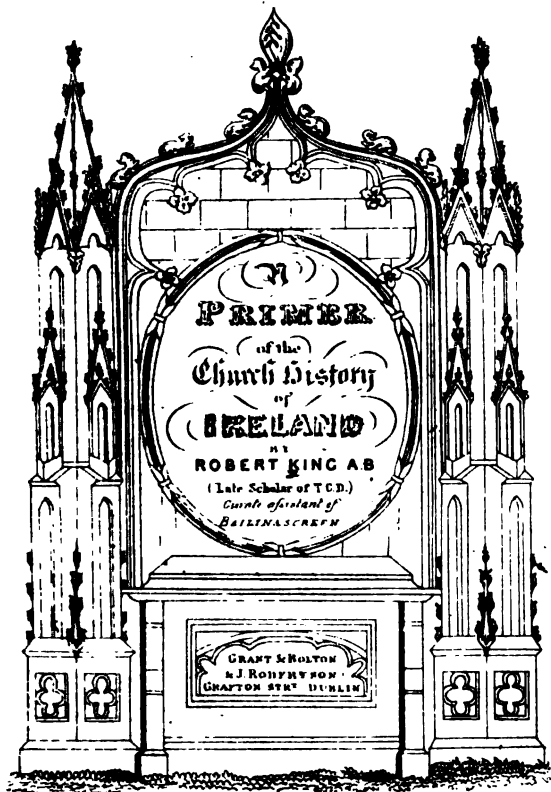
1845

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The Valley of the Rhine, looking down the river from the town of Bingen, Germany.

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**A PRIMER
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
The Holy Catholic Church
IN
IRELAND,**

**FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE FORMATION
OF THE MODERN IRISH BRANCH OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.**

THIRD EDITION.

SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME.

DUBLIN:

**J. M'GLASHAN, S. B. OLDHAM, W. CURRY AND CO.,
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1851.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE SIX TOWNS' Parsonage, in which the following pages were prepared for the press, is situated in a secluded mountain corner of the remote rural parish of Ballynascreen, (Diocese of Derry,) far from all those repositories which might afford access to works adapted to furnish proper materials for a publication of this kind. The hare had her form, and the rail her nest, within a very few perches of the writer's place of study, and the heather and bilberry grew almost in the next field; but far away was old Eusebius, and far away Roger Hoveden, and far away John Colgan, and all their company. Far away too was the great centre of postal circulation for this island, (with even the nearest "Receiving House" of which *The Six Towns* has no regular system of daily communication;) insomuch that a proof sheet sent from the printer's hand in Dublin on Monday, could not usually reach him again, even by return of post, until Thursday. Moreover, the district curate who occupies the Parsonage aforesaid, having entrusted to his care the whole charge of ministering in the Church adjoining, can hardly ever, under ordinary circumstances, be absent from the place for a single week, so as to enjoy the advantage of study and consulting of books elsewhere: the only convenient opportunities for such absence having in fact been found to occur when the Rev. William Chichester, Prebendary of St. Michael's on the Hill, in Dublin, paid his occasional visit to the neighbouring seat of his father-in-law, the Hon. Judge Torrens, originator and patron of the Church and Parsonage in question—(a most kind patron also, it will be seen, of this publication.) During Mr. Chichester's stay at Derry-noid, the Six Towns' Congregation is sure to enjoy the benefits of his edifying ministrations among them, and their minister is relieved

by a full share of that clerical aid which this most obliging clergyman has ever been found ready to supply, where any urgent occasion has appeared to call for the exercise of his friendly services.

Then further, there was the little flock to be looked after, and the little school where their children met for daily instruction to be cared for and attended to; a school too that required not a little attention and care: and although it was certainly a variety and refreshment to turn from studying old records, and translating stiff and cranky Latin, to breathe the mountain air in a six miles walk for the post, or to give a lesson in the "Parables," or "Miracles," or "Second Part," to Lizzy Orr, and Willy Barnett, and Bell Smith, and the rest of them, yet the time unavoidably spent in these and other such occupations, could not but seriously diminish the hours available for such an undertaking as the present; which being regarded as less matter of immediate duty, was in consequence the more likely to be neglected, in order to give place to those employments that were strictly such.

So that in fact, although long in preparation, this is after all a hurried piece of work, and executed under some considerable disadvantages. The principal object aimed at has been to condense matter-of-fact information, and attend to strict accuracy, and some degree of smoothness, in the translating of documents. Beyond this, little care has been taken with the style of the book, and the writer is far from being unconscious of the many deficiencies in this respect, which are likely to offend the judgment of persons of more critical taste in this edition, and to furnish room for improvement hereafter, if occasion require. Such deficiencies he cannot but feel the more, considering the large amount of patronage from high and influential individuals, which this new volume has already received. It is fully hoped, however, that in its matter and tendency nothing will be found to forfeit the favorable opinions of those who from acquaintance with the portion of the work already published, have thus far lent to it their countenance and support.

Some, however, observing the faults of this publication, may possibly be inclined to think that it would have been better if had not appeared at all, as the execution of such a work in an indifferent

manner may have the effect of hindering some writer of more competent information and superior style from entering on the same field of labor. The present case is not however one to which that observation can justly apply. We had been too long waiting for learned men to give us, in any accessible shape, some popular information on this subject; and the prevalent ignorance resulting from the want of such information has been attended with much injury. Nor can it be denied that the "Primer" has been at all events the means of submitting to general notice in a cheap and convenient form, various interesting matters of historical record, heretofore too much lost sight of. Were any further consideration needed to satisfy the author of this attempt, that he has done well in doing so much, where others, who might have done better, have been doing nothing, a sufficient one would be found in the testimonies received from kind and influential friends in many parts of Ireland, to the usefulness of the volumes of the "Primer" where they have been circulated, and the interest commonly taken in them by the class for whose instruction they are more especially intended.

Beyond this general apology for the present work, there are a few other matters more in the way of detail, concerning which something remains to be said here. And first, an observation or two on the mode of publication of the present volume will probably interest some readers, and be of use to obviate misunderstanding on the part of others.

The first two volumes had been very favourably received by the public, and were meeting it with a proportionably large demand, when the arrival of the first famine year occasioned a nearly total stoppage of the circulation, accompanied by a deficiency in the returns of sale, amounting to nearly £200; such deficit being sunk for the most part in copies of those two volumes, which were thus rendered almost unsaleable; and which were likely to continue so too, even independently of the famine, as long as they remained imperfect for want of the concluding volume. The publication of the latter (supposed at that time likely to comprehend about 500 pages,) would however, it was estimated, require an outlay of some £200 more; and this, at such a time especially,

proved an insuperable impediment to proceeding with the printing any further.

Under these circumstances, it was strongly recommended by friends of the "Primer" in different parts of Ireland, to endeavour to complete it by subscriptions payable in advance; which course however the Compiler, having strong objections to such a mode of procedure, declined for two or three years to adopt: for he could not but sympathise with the general feeling which leads men to wish to see the whole of what they are getting ere it be paid for. And further, although some thousands of the volumes of the different editions of the work had already been put into circulation, yet in no instance had any individual been solicited by the writer to purchase one of them. Such kind of application to friends appeared however inevitable, if the required number of subscriptions, estimated at 2000, were now to be sought for; and this of itself appeared a sufficiently cogent reason for avoiding a course which involved so undesirable a plan of operation.

But then it was said, very few who care about the work will grudge 2s. 6d. for such an object, considering the value they are likely to get for it; and a sufficient number will easily be found to co-operate readily in promoting it, without urging the unwilling. Such an exertion is even due to those friends who have purchased the preceding volumes, and are willing to aid in furthering the publication of this one. The course advised seemed in fact inevitable, and was rendered altogether so, ere the writer had well made up his mind to adopt it, by the kindness of those two worthy ladies, the Misses Montgomery, (sisters of the Rev. Samuel Montgomery, Rector of Ballynascreen,) who for a commencement of the undertaking, handed over to the Compiler on the 6th of May, 1850, fifty-nine subscriptions, including, besides their own, various others that had been received by them from friends in all quarters, for copies of the intended volume.

Thus was the question settled, and the work set a going. A Prospectus was then prepared, and other friends made acquainted with the project, and applied to for their friendly co-operation; from whom in general there came in reply communications full of

courteous encouragement, and practical support. His Grace the Lord Primata, with his usual kindness, was good enough to patronise the undertaking, while from several other of the Irish prelates also it met with a friendly countenance. Among whom the obligations due to those of Cork and Ossory in particular are here gratefully acknowledged.

Nor can the Compiler omit this opportunity of recording his grateful sense of the kind and effective co-operation in the same object, received from the following friends of the work now completed by their aid; they having severally procured, in their different circles of friends and acquaintance, subscriptions for the number of copies of this volume here set after their various names:—

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On the whole, if in some few places where cordial and liberal support of this undertaking might reasonably have been anticipated,

there has been rather experienced a throwing of cold water on the proceeding, any such little discouragement has been well compensated for, in the prompt and warm (and often unsolicited) kindness with which the subscription list has been helped forward in other quarters, from which less might fairly have been expected.

The entire number of copies of this volume for which subscriptions have been received in advance previously to its publication is 1159; and although this be far below the number estimated as required for paying the expenses incurred, yet from the general interest which has been manifested in its favor, and from its having been so widely made known while in the press, there seems every reason to hope that the sales, now that the work is complete, will be such as to compensate ere very long for the deficiency.

Among the subscribers will be found enrolled persons of every condition in the country, from the archbishop to the parish school-master, and from the rank of marquis to that of the humble artisan. The number might have been swelled with some considerable additions, had it not been for the operation of the rule which required payment of subscriptions to be made in all cases in advance. An unvarying observance of this principle has led to the omission from the following list of several names, (including among them those of a noble duke, an earl, a countess, one or two professors in the Universities, &c.) which would have graced a page in this little volume, but for the parties in question, (who had consented to become subscribers) having failed to observe the necessary condition referred to.

Some friends in a few places in England have exhibited a very kind feeling towards the Primer, and endeavoured, not without apparent encouragement, to promote its circulation in that country. It has been compiled however chiefly with a view to those of whose Church it speaks, and the writer, believing it to be less adapted, in various ways, for the other island, has been at little pains to make the work known there, except in a limited number of cases, and those chiefly of persons having some connection with Ireland.

Objections have been made both to the form and title of these

volumes. As to the latter, it originally belonged to the first edition, which was complete in one very small volume, and was intended chiefly for very young and ignorant persons. Yet it seems very proper still to retain the same title, though the book be now somewhat larger, from the respect which is due to the proper dignity of a "Church History;" this little ecclesiastical compilation not properly deserving so high a name, and being more appropriately designated by one commonly given to works of an elementary character, although not always in times past confined to such as were of diminutive size and small consideration.

And as for the shape, which has given still more general dissatisfaction, it is but a following of the same original, in a point however which is of less importance, and in regard to which, if another edition of the work be called for, the public taste may be easily consulted and accommodated.

Further, it has been suggested that the tone and style of this work is in some places a little more controversial, and less simply historical, than is desirable in treating of such a subject, and that occasionally there has been introduced a needless dwelling on speculative inquiries connected with the matters of fact recorded in its pages. The unnecessary "hooking in" of controversial disquisitions into such a place, or forcing the facts of history to appear to exhibit a stronger bearing on controverted questions, than they naturally do, as it must be admitted to be a fault, so is it one probably from which the "Primer" may not be wholly free. For the writer cannot but feel how easily one is drawn, in examining the records of history, to inquire most carefully, what is the bearing of ancient facts on the subjects which interest us most, on which however they may supply but scanty information; instead of asking what is their general purport and natural bearing, and what the light which they most naturally and freely supply, on any matters of antiquity with which they are connected: although the latter might be found in the end a course of inquiry not less interesting, and far more instructive in its own proper way, than that on which, from our preconceptions, we had been disposed to enter with more eagerness. We may easily, without any consciousness of a

wish to misrepresent the voice of history, be led to inquire chiefly or solely, how far it confirms or countenances our own opinions or practices, and so far only to set forth its testimony; where a candid examination of the facts in their natural aspect would do more to correct prejudices and remove ignorance.

Thus, for instance, with reference to the form of ecclesiastical constitution adopted by the ancient Irish, one whose mind is impressed with a strong sense of the value and apostolicity of diocesan episcopacy, will naturally seek in our early records for a satisfactory illustration of his favorite plan of Church discipline; and failing to find in them any exact counterpart of his ideal of the correct system, will endeavour to adapt to his own views, as well as may be possible, the statements contained in the documents before him, (see p. 963 of this vol.) looking at them himself, and presenting them to others, in such an aspect as may best harmonize with his own prepossessions: whereas a fair examination of existing records, although not likely to lead to any conclusion injurious to the foundation of the episcopal principle, or the estimate of its value, in a well informed mind, will yet serve to show how very strikingly the old Irish system of discipline differed from a modern churchman's notion of a well-ordered episcopacy—or from a Romanist's view of his papal hierarchy—or from the form of any other ecclesiastical system of the present day whatsoever.

This fishing in stubborn antiquity, here alluded to, for food gratifying to our own intellectual palate, has furnished occasion to some in recent times to discover in Ireland's ancient saints the perfect model of a modern Romanist, nay even of one of those of the ultramontane school; and has led others, with an equal amount of justice, to such conclusions as these, viz., "that pure and undefiled apostolical Christianity flourished in Ireland, in evangelical vigour, until the twelfth century;"—"that *the Culdees* [fabulously reported for this occasion to have been commended by V. Bede, who never once mentions them] were a set of very decided antagonists of Romish errors," in fact, good, sturdy Protestants;—"that from the coming of Saint Patrick to the Synod of Cashel was a bright and glorious career for Ireland, and that all her woes and

calamities began from 1172;"—as if no Danes, or else none but very civil and manageable ones, had visited the isle in the four centuries preceding. And as for S. Patrick himself, he has been so pulled and jogged to and fro, claimed from time to time as the patriarch—now of Irish Romanists—now of Irish Churchmen—now of Scotch Presbyterians—and even of independent congregationalists—that it is not so much to be wondered at if in the notions of some triflers with antiquity, (Ledwich, for instance, and his followers,) there has no shred been left of his real existence at all, and his history has been regarded as a dull romance—a creation of the fancy of an imaginative age.

With a view to avoiding such unfair dealing with historical documents as is above noticed, it has been the compiler's aim, in the construction of the Primer, to let our ancient records, as far as possible, speak for themselves, by giving so many important ones in full, and largely quoting the exact words of the most instructive passages of others. As however it would be too much to expect after all, that such aim has been completely successful in excluding the colourings derived from preconceived opinions, he can only express a hope, that wherever time, or the suggestions of those of better judgment and information, shall discover to him any decided mistakes in the matter, or improprieties in the tone and manner, of the inferences founded on the passages of those early documents which are here concerned, his willingness to be set right may discover itself in the improvements introduced in these respects also, if the opportunity occur, in a future edition of the work.

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40	A.D. 1318	641	<i>Reply of Pope John to the foregoing, addressed to Edward II., King of England</i> 1135
20	A.D. 1367	661	State of the Irish Episcopacy at the period of the <i>Statute of Kilkenny</i> , shewing its general subjugation to papal influence in that age 1139
21	A.D. 1306	679	<i>Of the Early Roman Taxations of Ireland</i> , with a synopsis of that of the year 1306, hitherto unpublished 1145
41	A.D. 1291	679	<i>Bull of Pope Nicholas IV., making over to King Edward I. a grant of the Ecclesiastical Tenth in Ireland, &c.</i> 1161
42	A.D. 1489	671	Extracts from the <i>Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., for the confirmation of the foundation of a Collegiate Church in Galway</i> 1169
			To which are added, Historical Memoirs of the diocese of Enaghdown, or Annadown 1171
22	A.D. 1536	683	Notes on the <i>Irish Parliament of the 28th year of King Henry VIII., to which are appended—</i> 1189

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22	A.D. 1536 <i>cont.</i>	682	The account given by the <i>Four Masters</i> of King Henry's alterations in matters of religion, and 1193 An account of the mode of nomination, confirmation, &c., of Bishops, introduced by this king's legislation .. 1194 Also, a passage from the <i>Institution of a Christian Man</i> , indicating the views which it was intended to set forth on the same topic .. 1196 With some further illustrations of the same, from the late " <i>Hereford Case</i> ," and <i>Mr. Justice Coleridge's judgment</i> thereupon .. 1197, '9
43	A.D. 1535	708	Abstract of the <i>Bull of Pope Paul III.</i> denounced against King Henry VIII., absolving his subjects of their allegiance, &c. .. 1201
44	A.D. 1538	697	1. Letter of the Bishop of Metz, conveying to Con O'Neill the suggestions of the Pope and his Cardinals for stirring up rebellion in Ireland .. 1203
	A.D. 1541	697	2. <i>Letter of Pope Paul III.</i> , to the same chief, on the same subject .. 1204
23	A.D. 1542	705	Specimen of the Forms of submission of the Irish princes to King Henry VIII. .. 1206
24	A.D. 1560	758	List of the bishops who attended the Irish Parliament of A.D. 1560 .. 1208
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26	A.D. 1560	773	Account of the Succession of Titular Primate, &c., in Ireland .. 1224
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	A.D. 1564		2. Account of the life of Rd. Creagh, first of the present succession of titular Primate of Ireland 1228
			3. Notices of the Successors of R. Creagh, to the present age .. 1236
			4. Remarks on the present mode of nomination to the titular episcopate in this country, as compared with ancient Irish usages .. 1249
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45	A.D. 1569	777	<i>Bull of Pope Pius V. for the Deposition, &c., of Queen Elizabeth</i> .. 1258
27	A.D. 1577	791	<i>Bull of Pope Gregory XIII.</i> in favour of the Irish Insurrection against <i>Queen Elizabeth</i> , headed by James Fitzmaurice .. 1262

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47	A.D. 1580	791	1. <i>N. Sanders, the Jesuit, to the Irish people</i> , ex- citing them to Rebellion 1267
			2. <i>Camden's account of the Insurrection of James</i> <i>Fitz Maurice</i> 1269
48	A.D. 1585		<i>List of the Prelates present in the Irish Parliam-</i> <i>ment of A.D. 1585</i> 1271
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50	A.D. 1589		<i>Hugh O'Neill to Lord Barry</i> , chiding him for his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth 1278
51	A.D. 1589		<i>Lord Barry's reply</i> to the preceding 1280
52	A.D. 1600	836	H. O'Neill, the Sagan Earl, &c., to the the Pope, asking for the appointment of new titular bishops, a renewal of the denunciations against Queen Elizabeth, &c. 1283
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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK VI.

[CONTINUED.]

IRELAND IN THE TROUBLOUS TIMES OF THE BRITISH REFORMATION.

CHAP. IX.

REIGN OF JAMES I.—ROMISH AGENCY SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING
A PERMANENT SCHISM IN THE COUNTRY.

IT remains for us to give the reader some account of the state of religious affairs in Ireland for the first eleven or twelve years of the reign of King James I., a period in which the adherents of the Church of Rome in this island succeeded in establishing among themselves a new religious organization, under somewhat of a regular ecclesiastical form, accompanied by a kind of political confederation of the members of their party, which, although less perfect and less permanent in its construction than the religious part of their system, has however subsisted in one form or another even to our own day.

A. D. 1603.
State of religious affairs
in Ireland
under King
James I.

A. D. 1603.

Feelings of
the Irish
people to-
wards his
Majesty.

The accession of the first monarch of the Stuart family to the throne of England was accompanied with important advantages, which to all appearance promised well for the peace and prosperity of Ireland. For the people of this country, who had regarded former English princes as but usurpers of royalty in their land, were prepared to embrace King James with a kind of enthusiastic feeling, as a rightful claimant of kingly power—as one in whom the succession of the throne was restored once more to a line of lawful monarchs, he being, as they supposed, of their own race,* and having the blood of their ancient kings flowing in his veins, for which very reason their ancestors had, in a former age, crowned Edward Bruce at Dundalk

* King James himself took pleasure in asserting this claim. "In a speech which he delivered in council at Whitehall on the 29th of April, 1613, he says, 'There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that people (*the Irish*,) first as King of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land, and also as King of Scotland, for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended of the kings of Ireland,' " &c. . . *Stuart's Armagh*, Appr. ii. p. 581.

From a pedigree given in the same page of Mr. Stuart's work, the following is extracted :—"The present royal family of England may be traced through James I. to Kineth or Keneth Mac Alpine," &c. Kineth II. began to reign A.D. 843; . . . was ancestor, it seems, of the Bruces—Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale; Robert Bruce I. in 1306; Margery Bruce, Robert's daughter; Robert Stuart II., Margery's son, in 1370; Robert Stuart III., 1390; James Stuart I., 1423; James Stuart II., 1437; James Stuart III., 1460; James Stuart IV., 1489; James Stuart V., 1514; Mary Stuart, 1544; James Stuart VI. of Scotland and I. of England, 1567—from whom are descended George I., II., III., IV., &c.

as King of Ireland.* Moreover, the destructive rebellions of the preceding reign had now come to an end, and the people, weakened and wasted by war and famine,† had but little heart or power for exciting fresh disturbances of any serious magnitude. Even those parts of the country where the struggle for independence had ever been most obstinately and incessantly maintained, were now completely reduced under English rule; and James has therefore been regarded, not without reason, as the first English king who was able to enjoy complete sovereignty in every part of Ireland. From these causes his accession to the throne was followed by an interval of tranquility of nearly forty years' continuance, not indeed entirely undisturbed by the agitation and intrigues of Rome, but yet so calm and universal, that learned authors have not hesitated to say that Ireland had never seen the like before. Sweet indeed and refreshing must it have been, to such of the poor of the land as had survived the sad scenes of misery and horror, in which their tyrant leaders had involved them for so many preceding years.‡

A. D. 1603.

His accession followed by a period of singular tranquility in Ireland;

The reign of the new monarch was not how- marked

* See p. 632, sup.

† See Appendix, No. 56.

‡ See Sir John Davies's "*Discoverie of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued*," &c.; a work which forms a most valuable contribution towards our history, or at least the Anglican period of it. *Dubl.* 1761, p. 180, &c.

A. D. 1603.

however at
first by par-
tial distur-
bances of
the peace.

ever allowed to commence without some exhibitions of excitement and agitation throughout the provinces. The Romish teachers of the people had been instilling into their minds the false doctrine asserted by certain foreign universities,* which taught that it was mortal sin to aid in any way the "English heretics" against the Earl of Tyrone; and that those who did so could have no salvation unless they deserted and repented of their crime. Under the influence of such lessons, some of the chief cities and boroughs of the south were led to make resistance to the proclamation of the king's accession, and to assume for a time an attitude of decided hostility and rebellion, taking measures also for setting up the Romish religion by force of arms. Cork, Waterford, and Limerick appear to have been particularly distinguished for their manifestations on this occasion; and other places of less importance and strength, as Clonmel, Kilkenny, Wexford, &c., were not slow to participate in the same kind of proceedings.

Riotous
proceedings
in Cork on
the King's
accession.

In Cork, the rebellious citizens, we are told, took possession of the churches, ejected the lawful reformed ministers, burned what Bibles and Common Prayer Books they could find, rased out the Ten Commandments and Scripture sen-

* See the *Judgment of the Doctors of Salamanca and Valladolid* on the Earl of Tyrone's War in Ireland, &c. Appendix, No. 57.

tences from the churches, and painted Romish pictures in their stead, restored the mass in public use, and paraded the city in procession with a cross, which they forced all persons to reverence. In fine, they took the sacrament to pledge themselves to the support of the Roman Catholic religion with their lives and fortunes, and gave proofs of their earnestness by various acts of tumult and outrage. Nor were the citizens of Waterford much less violent; for they too showed their temper by pulling down their recorder from the cross, where he was reading the proclamation of the king's accession, seizing on churches, and admitting into one of them a Dominican friar to preach a seditious sermon, in which, among other injurious remarks relative to the late queen, he took occasion to say that Jezebel was dead, causing mass to be celebrated in the Cathedral, &c.

A. D. 1608.

Similar outrages at Waterford; and their issue.

But these comparatively trifling exceptions to the general tranquillity were soon removed by the energy and address of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, who visited Munster in person for the restoration of order. Waterford at first refused to admit the viceroy within its gates, pleading some privilege founded upon an ancient charter, and asserting that its pious citizens "could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the Catholic faith." They soon

A. D. 1603.

however, saw the expediency of opening their gates, taking the oath of allegiance to the king, and renouncing all foreign jurisdiction. After which Lord Mountjoy, having visited Cork also and Limerick, as well as Cashel and other places in the southern province, returned again to Dublin.*

Forbear-
ance of the
king to-
wards
O'Neill and
his accom-
plices.

And now, for the purpose of confirming the public peace and good order, a proclamation was issued, granting a general indemnity and oblivion for past offences against the law. Moreover, the chieftains O'Neill and O'Donel (*i. e.* Roderick O'Donel, brother of Hugh Roe O'Donel, who had fled into Spain) were taken over by the Lord Deputy to visit the king's court in London, where, after a very gracious reception of them both, the latter was created Earl of Tyrconnel. But these Irish noblemen, as they passed along the streets of the English metropolis, were assailed with insults by the populace, who could not restrain, even through respect for the Lord Deputy, their marks of hatred and execration toward the persons of those who had occasioned so much bloodshed and sorrow to thousands of their fellow-countrymen.

Further
seditious
proceedings
of the
agents of
Rome.

The moderation of King James, however, and his temperate bearing towards the Papal Church, was made by the designing and wily agents of

* Cox's History of Ireland, ii. pp. 4-8.

Rome, to furnish new matter for their insidious intrigues. "The son of a Catholic martyr,"* as they styled him, could not but be well affected to them and to their faith. Yea, they were bold enough to affirm openly, that the king was indeed of their religion; and that he only awaited a favorable opportunity of declaring himself. Meanwhile they resolved to act in a bold and decided manner, as if assured of his favor; proceeding, accordingly, to seize on some of the parish churches by violence; building other new ones; repairing abbeyes and monasteries for their own use; erecting crosses in conspicuous places; marching through the towns in pompous processions with their showy habits and gaudy ceremonies; reviewing and deciding causes which had been determined in the king's courts, and compelling their subjects to obey their decisions and not those of the law, and this on pain of damnation; forbidding also the people to be present at the reformed worship in their parish churches. For to this period the practice of resorting to those churches had been still continued even by those who cherished strong feelings of attachment to the religion of Rome. Such persons were distinguished by the name of Church-Papists, from the more extreme and violent of those who belonged to the same party.

A. D. 1603.

* Rothe's *Analecta*. Colon. 1617, p. 133.

A. D. 1604.

The Church
Papists for-
sake their
attendance
at the parish
churches.

Act of Uni-
formity en-
forced in
Dublin.

Proclama-
tion for the
clergy of
Rome to
leave the
kingdom,
4th July,
A. D. 1605.

But now every exertion was made use of by the agents of Rome to put a stop to this practice ; these agents being partly foreigners from Spain or Italy, who came over to maintain the struggle for temporal ascendancy in Ireland, and partly natives of the country, the disciples of those foreigners, who, under such influence, had gone abroad to receive their education and orders in seminaries and colleges beyond the sea, in Spain, and France, and Flanders, &c. By means therefore of their efforts, many of those who had been known as Church-Papists were induced, about this time (A.D. 1604) to discontinue their attendance at the established worship : for which reason it was thought good to carry into effect, at least in Dublin (by way of example to other places), the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, as a means of counterbalancing this foreign influence.*

But the republication of the Act of Uniformity was not followed, even in the metropolis, with that ready compliance and submission to its injunctions which might have been anticipated ; and therefore, to enforce its observance more effectually, measures of a harsher nature were adopted by the government. Sixteen of the most eminent persons of the city of Dublin were summoned to the Court of Castle Chamber, and

* See *Mant*, i. 349.

punished for their denial of conformity by censures, imprisonment, and heavy fines, *i.e.*, of £100 in some cases, and £50 in others. Moreover, seeing what seditious intrigues were continually kept on foot among the people, by the priests and other clergy of Rome, a proclamation was issued on the 4th of July, 1605, ordering them all, excepting such as would conform, to leave the kingdom before the 16th of the following December. This proclamation however was but faintly administered, and it was accordingly attended with but little effect.

A. D. 1605.

Had the government of that day made use of still greater severity towards the tools of Rome, we should have indeed little occasion to be surprised at their proceedings, considering the incessant efforts which the emissaries of that foreign court were employing for the purpose of keeping up a treasonable agitation in this country. About the very time at present under consideration, we find the partizans of the Italian Church once more encouraged to perseverance in their seditious practices by a Bull from Rome, dated the 7th of December, 1605, and containing an "Exhortation and Remission" to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; wherein the pope declared it to be as safe to sacrifice unto idols as to be present at the Common Prayer; and also promised to them aid of great force of

Dialoyalty
and schism
promoted
by a fresh
papal pasto-
ral, Dec. 7,
1605.

A. D. 1606.

Parochial
worship in
many places
wholly in-
terrupted.

Romans, Germans, and Spanish, by the next harvest, and great store of arms to resist their governors.*

What has been said a little above in reference to the continued attendance of the people at their parochial worship, after the introduction of the reformed Liturgy, must be understood to apply only to those parts of the country where divine service was maintained at all, or with any kind of regularity. For in such places as had been the scenes of desolation and war, congregational worship was, of course, necessarily omitted. Such was the case mostly with all the rural parts of the north, during the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion, which had caused a general interruption of divine service throughout Ulster for many years, excepting in cities or great towns.

The govern-
ment of this
period not
intolerant
toward loyal
and peace-
able Roman-
ists.

A few years before the time now under consideration, *i. e.* A. D. 1600, the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, writing over to the Lords of the Council in England, had taken occasion to express himself as being strongly in favour of the use of mild and tolerant measures, towards persons who might be opposed to the reformed religion as by law established; "not that I think," says he, "too great preciseness can be used in the reforming of ourselves, the abuses of our

* Loftus MS. Marsh's Library. See the Bull entire in Appendix, No. 58, *inf.*

own clergy, Church livings, or discipline; nor that the truth of the Gospel can with too great vehemency or industry be set forward, in all places, and by all ordinary means, most proper unto itself, that was first set forth and spread in meekness; nor that I think any corporal prosecution or punishment can be too severe for such as shall be found seditious instruments of foreign or inward practices; nor that I think it fit that any principal magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in absenting themselves from public divine service, but that we may be advised how we do punish in their bodies or goods any such only for religion as do profess to be faithful subjects to her majesty, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved.”* A. D. 1605.

Now King James being very anxious to make

* Leland, H. 383. Even the turbulent and factious nobles of the Pale bore testimony to the mildness with which the Act of Supremacy was administered under Queen Elizabeth. In a remonstrance of theirs addressed to King James, on the subject of his first Irish Parliament, bearing date, Nov. 25, 1612, they write as follows:—“Your Majesty’s subjects in generall do likewise very much distaste and exclaime against the deposing of so many magistrates in the cities and boroughs of this kingdom, for not swearing th’oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes; they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all kingly jurisdiction and authority in your highnesse; which course, for that it was so sparingly and mildly carried on in the time of your late sister, of famous memory, Queen Elizabeth, and but now in your highnesse’s happy reign first extended into the remote parts of this country, doth so much the more affright and disquiet the minds of your well-affected subjects here.” See Leland, H. 443, seqq.; also, Appendix, No. 63, *inf.*

A. D. 1605.

King
James's
Test Oath
of Allegi-
ance,

a distinction between the two classes of his Roman Catholic subjects here described, and observing that in the Italian supremacy, as understood by the former, there was comprehended "an imperial civil power over kings and emperors, to dethrone and decrown them at the pope's pleasure,"* he was led to bestow much pains on the preparation of a test oath, which without asserting on his part a claim to spiritual supremacy, should contain a full admission of his being a rightful sovereign prince, notwithstanding any denunciation passed or to be passed by the Church of Rome, or in accordance with the heretical deposing doctrine then so popular.†

occasions a
controversy
among the
followers of
the Romish
Church.

The publication of this famous test gave occasion to much dissension among all classes of the adherents of the Romish religion, and while from some it called forth the strongest opposition, others willingly consented to accept it as a fair and lawful acknowledgment of the civil obedience due from a subject to his temporal sovereign. To end the controversy however, Pope Paul V., in a brief addressed to "the Catholics of England and Ireland,"‡ pronounced the king's test unlawful; and while warning them to refrain from incurring the anger of God

Decision of
the Popes
Paul V. and
Urban, Sept.
22, 1606, &c.

* Leland II. 420.

James, in the Appendix, No. 59, inf.
inf., No. 60.

† See the Oath of Allegiance of King

‡ See the Appendix,

by attending the heretic worship, he at the same time admonished and required them to refuse the Oath of Allegiance, and all such oaths; exhorting them rather to submit to all tortures, and even to death itself, than to consent to take them. This goodly advice was in the year following confirmed in a second brief of the same pontiff,* and afterwards again repeated and enforced by the succeeding pope, Urban;† and it was also adopted and acted upon by some of the misguided followers of such counsellors, not however without a protesting voice of remonstrance from the more temperate supporters of the religion of Rome. The acceptance of the king's Oath was on the other hand enforced by an act of the Gunpowder Plot parliament, which began to sit at Westminster on the 5th of November, 1606, and was continued on to the month of May following.

A. D. 1606.

About this time there occurred a circumstance worthy of being briefly noticed here, as throwing some light on the penal statutes which had been recently enacted against the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and showing that they formed no new feature in the constitution of the realm, but were only a re-enactment, with a new sanction, of laws already passed at a much more ancient period. The republication of the

Case of Robert Lalor, prosecuted for exercising foreign jurisdiction in Ireland.

* Ib. No. 61.

† Ib. No. 71.

A. D. 1606.

His voluntary recognition of the royal supremacy, made on oath, Dec. 22, 1606.

His duplicity, and second trial.

Act of Uniformity of the second year of Queen Elizabeth by the authority of the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, was followed, as we have seen, by a proclamation ordering the papal clergy to leave the kingdom. This act, however severe in appearance, was administered so mildly as to produce but little effect. One person, however, named Robert Lalor, who was claiming for himself, by the pope's authority, the title of Vicar General of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns, was apprehended in 1606 for disobedience to the proclamation here mentioned, and indicted upon the statute of Elizabeth, for upholding foreign jurisdiction within this realm. But he humbled himself to the court, and made a voluntary confession upon oath, that he was not a lawful vicar general in the dioceses aforesaid, that the king was supreme governor in all causes ecclesiastical and civil in this realm, and that no bishops made by the pope's authority had any rightful power to resist the lawful prelates of the country.

On this confession the court, adopting a milder disposition towards Lalor, would have proceeded to give orders for his liberation; but his friends, to whom he denied in private what he had done publicly, raised now "a religious cry" against the government, and extolled Lalor as a confessor who was undergoing persecution for the sake of conscience and the faith; whereupon, "to

satisfy the Irish how grossly their credulity was imposed upon,"* the prosecution on the statute of the second of Elizabeth was quashed, and a new prosecution instituted on the statute of *Præmunire* (as it was called,) passed in the sixteenth year of Richard II. c. 5; and on this new indictment he was once more tried and found guilty. But the sentence of the law, though pronounced upon him, was never, it appears, carried into execution.

A. D. 1606.

The plan of indicting Lalor a second time upon the Act of *Præmunire*, rather than upon any new statute, passed since the Reformation, was adopted, as we are informed by Sir John Davis, the Attorney-General of that day, in order to convince the Irish, "that even popish kings and parliaments thought the pope an usurper of those exorbitant jurisdictions which he claimed," and of those unreasonable encroachments, "which tended to nothing less than to make our kings his lacqueys, our nobles his vassals, and our commons his slaves and villains." As for the individual whose case is here noticed, "he," says a learned Roman Catholic writer, "was justly prosecuted, not persecuted, on the Catholic statute of *Præmunire*, enacted in the Catholic reign of Richard II., for the

Of the occasion and meaning of this new trial.

* O'Connor's *Historical Address*, II., quoted in Phelan's *Policy*, pp. 208, 209, notes.

A. D. 1607. security of a Catholic state." . . . "Never," adds the same respectable authority, "did man incur the penalty of the law more deservedly than Lalor."^{*}

Visitation
of three
counties of
the north by
the Lord
Deputy, &c.
A. D. 1607.

In the summer of the year 1607, the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, accompanied by certain other members of the Irish government, and attended by a sufficient military guard, set out (on the 17th of July) to make a visitation of three counties in Ulster, namely, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan; which, comprehending the wildest and most unsettled parts of the north, appeared to require special attention at that time. A letter, still extant, written by Sir John Davies, who was one of the party, contains an account of the expedition, and furnishes us at the same time with some interesting particulars relative to the state of the Church and country in those places which they visited.[†]

Ruinous
condition of
the parish
churches at
this time.

This letter, first mentioning incidentally the state of the churches of Ireland in general, informs us that so little care had been taken for the re-edifying and repairing of them, that the greatest part, even of those within the Pale, were lying still in ruins, "so as the common people, whereof many, without doubt, would

^{*} O'Connor, ut sup., and Cox, li. 10, 11.
Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury, 1607. Tracts, p. 722, Dublin, 1787. Mant, i. 353, seqq.

[†] *Letter from Sir John Davies to Robert Earl of Salisbury, 1607. Tracts, p. 722, Dublin, 1787. Mant, i. 353, seqq.*

conform themselves, have no place to resort unto, where they may hear divine service."

A: D. 1607.

Then as for Monaghan, the first of the three counties visited by them, there "It appeared that the churches, for the most part, are utterly waste, and that their incumbents are popish priests, instituted by bishops authorised from Rome, yet many of them, like other old priests of Queen Mary's time in England, ready to yield unto conformity."*

The incumbents in Monaghan Romish, but in many instances ready to conform.

Monaghan is in the diocese of Clogher, which had been without a bishop from A.D. 1570 to A.D. 1605, when King James had appointed to the united sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, (comprehending within their limits the greatest part of Ulster,) George Montgomery, a native of Scotland. But this prelate, though it was now two years since he had been appointed, had not yet come to reside and attend to his episcopal duties; which, says Sir J. Davies, "hath been the chief cause that no course hath been hitherto taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity, and therefore *majus peccatum habet*."

The bishop non-resident.

So desolate and uncivilised was the state of the country at this time, that the roads by which the Lord Deputy and his company journeyed

Wildness of the country.

* For more on the state of the Irish churches in 1633, vide Appendix, lrvl. 467., at the end of the article.

A. D. 1607.

were almost impassable for their carriages by reason of the woods and bogs; while at night they found it necessary to encamp in the fields, or to make use of such partial shelter as was afforded by ecclesiastical buildings lying in a state of dilapidation. On the second night after leaving Monaghan, "we pitched our tents," observes Attorney-General Davies, "over against the island of Devenish, a place being prepared for the holding of our sessions for Fermanagh in the ruins of the abbey there For the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this county."

Wretched
State of the
churches
and clergy
in Kilmore
diocese.

The party next repaired to the diocese of Kilmore and county of Cavan, concerning the churches and clergy of which Sir John Davies reports as follows;—"For the churches, they are for the most part in ruins; such as were presented to be in reparation, are covered only with thatch. But the incumbents, both parsons and vicars, did appear to be such poor, ragged, ignorant creatures, (for we saw many of them in the camp,) as we could not esteem any of them worthy of the meanest of those livings, albeit many of them are not worth above forty shillings per annum."*

* The ragged ignorance of these poor clerks need not so much surprise us, when we consider that even the great Irish chieftains

The bishop of this place was Robert Draper, an Irishman, who had been appointed in 1603 to the united sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, King James "having received testimony of his sufficient learning and honest conversation to be meet to supply those places, in regard that he was well acquainted with the conditions and dispositions of that people, and was able to instruct them in the Irish tongue, and thereby likely to do more good among them in his said function." Such favourable expectations do not however appear to have been realized; as we find Sir J. Davies particularly severe on him for negligence in his charge. "He doth live now," says he, "in these parts, where he hath two bishoprics, but there is no divine service or sermon to be heard withen either of his dioceses." He is far, adds this writer, from being "as careful to see the churches repaired and supplied with good incumbents, as he is diligent in visiting his barbarous clergy, to make benefit out of their insufficiency, [although having otherwise a good income out of Church pro-

A. D. 1607.
The bishop charged with carelessness and cupidity.

were often beggarly in their apparel, and grossly illiterate. The Great O'Neill (Con Bacach) of 1541 could not write his own name; neither could Mac Gillpatrick. See their submissions among the *State Papers*, Nos. 336 and 379. Desmond, "the noblest man in all the realm," made request of Henry VIII. that he would "provide him with apparel for his daily use," intimating that it was an article whereof "he hath great lack." The chieftain O'Rourke, similarly. S. P. 334. Moore's History of Ireland, iii. 318, 319. Lond. 1840.

A. D. 1607. perty] according to the proverb, which is common in the mouth of one of our great bishops here, 'that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow.' " Thus far concerning this visitation of the counties of the north.

Flight of
the Earls of
Tyrone and
Tyrconnel.

In the same year, 1607, the Irish government having received private information that the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, and other accomplices, had entered into a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of seizing the Castle of Dublin, murdering the Lord Deputy, and raising, with the aid of Spain, a general insurrection throughout the kingdom; the accused parties, hearing that the matter was made public, resolved upon fleeing the country rather than to abide the issue of a trial. And accordingly, embarking at Lough Swilly in the middle of September, they took refuge in foreign parts, landing on the coast of Normandy, and proceeding from thence through France to Brussels. With their after history we need not here meddle, except so far as to mention that Hugh O'Neill died at Rome, in A.D. 1616, after he had been residing there for some time as a pensioner on the bounty of the pope, and of the king of Spain.*

Cahir
O'Dogher-
ty's out-
rages,

His departure from Ireland however did not

* Cox ii. 12. Appx. 68, *inf.* and the letters of Sir J. Davies, in the State Paper Office, quoted in Moore iv. 155, *seqq.*

leave the country free from firebrands and agitators; for in the very next year (1608) after his leaving it, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, chieftain of Inishowen, a lad it seems of about twenty, but smart of his age, and old in wickedness, became the exciter of a fresh rebellion; and having taken Derry by surprise, plundered the town, and burned it to ashes, murdering the governor, and all the Protestants, excepting the bishop's wife and her children, who were taken captives, and afterwards allowed to be ransomed. But the ruffian who was actuated by personal feelings of spite and passion to commit such outrages, having lost his life by an accidental shot, after he had kept the field for some few months, his rebellion thus came happily to a termination.*

A. D. 1608.

and their
issue.

And now, experience having proved that it was vain to expect any good results from treating the authors of these insurrections with lenity and indulgence, they were in consequence outlawed, and subsequently attainted by parliament. By this judgment large tracts of land, comprising 511,465 Irish acres in the counties of Done-

Plantation
of Ulster,
A.D. 1609-12

* The Four Masters, narrating this incident in their own peculiar style, and having mentioned the quarrel between Sir Cahir and the Governor of Derry, Sir Geo. Paulet, observe (at A. D. 1608), that the Governor having abused and castigated him, "he would not delay being revenged, but became so filled with anger and fury, that it was a wonder he did not go distracted and mad." *Connellan's Translation.*

A. D. 1609.

gal, Tyrone, Coleraine, (or Derry,) Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh; were forfeited or escheated to the crown. And these territories being for the most part in a very waste and desolate condition after the late wars, and very thinly peopled, King James was the better enabled to put into execution a favorite plan which he had conceived, of bringing over to settle in those parts, numbers of English and Scotch colonists, with a view to the promoting of industry, civilization, and improvement in general. The scheme however proved, from various causes, only partially successful; chiefly because the parties to whom lands were granted cared more for their own private ends and private gains, than they did for promoting the welfare of the country, or the advancement of true religion, or for fulfilling the conditions on which they had received their grants.

Its results
in part be-
neficial to
the country.

Yet after all, partial benefits of very considerable magnitude were found to result from the plantation of Ulster: and that province which at the close of Elizabeth's reign had been left in such a desolate and miserable condition, because afterwards the most prosperous and flourishing in the kingdom, notwithstanding the violent convulsions of war in which its inhabitants were subsequently engaged. In the general improvement of the country, the Church also profited considerably in a temporal point of

view, having been restored to the possession of the lands of which she had been plundered, and receiving also many additional benefits from the king's bounty. At the same time however, the Plantation, conducted as it was, became the means of introducing into Ireland for the first time, congregations of Protestant dissenters from the Church and worship of the realm, together with teachers of their peculiar opinions. The earliest of these congregations was formed at Broad Island in the county of Antrim, in 1611, and another, about the same time at Hollywood in the county of Down: nor was it long before their branches extended widely throughout various parts of Ulster.*

A. D. 1611.

First introduction of Protestant non-conformity into Ireland.

The absence of outward and visible Church unity thus introduced among those who professed a pure and reformed faith, was undoubtedly a means of weakening their common influence for good, and strengthening the hands of the teachers of Rome. But such unity was then unfortunately regarded as a matter of inferior and small consequence compared with the advantage to be expected from the colonizing of the country with industrious, honest, and orderly inhabitants. It was not, as men at that time considered it, that a different faith was to be

All effects of the disunion so originating.

* Mant i, 362-368. Stuarth's Armagh, 484. Harris's *Hibernica*. Pinnar's *Survey*, &c.

A. D. 1612.

Bacon's
idea relative
to reforming
of the Ro-
mish party
in Ireland.

opposed, an ancient religion to be supplanted, (as Romish writers would fain represent it;) but irreligion, profligacy, and outrage were to be suppressed, and civilization, and the arts of peace, with a state of society less disgraceful to the Christian name, were to be introduced in their stead. For the moral degradation of the old inhabitants of the country in those times had been such as to elicit from Sir Francis Bacon the observation, that, "till they be more like reasonable men than they yet are, their society were rather scandalous to the true religion than otherwise: as pearls cast before swine: for till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinency, and theft, which are now not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the nation, they are incompatible with religion reformed."*

Regal visita-
tion of the
Irish
Church.

State of the
dioceses of
Ferns and
Leighlin.

In the year 1612, it appears that his Majesty King James caused an inquiry to be made into the internal condition of the Church in Ireland, having directed "Instructions and Interrogations" to the archbishops and bishops of the realm for that purpose. Of the returns made on this occasion, only one, by Thomas Ram, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, appears to be still extant.

* *Considerations touching the Queen's Service in Ireland*; Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 505, London, 1730. Mant i, 228. See also p. 817 sup.

This one however contains many interesting particulars, throwing light on the state of the Church in that time, and enabling us, from the circumstances of Bishop Ram's diocese therein reported, to form some conjecture as to the condition of other places at the same period.* A. D. 1612.

This bishop, as it appears from his own statement, was very diligent and attentive in endeavouring to improve the state of the Church and religion in the district committed to his charge: exerting himself in particular to instruct and reform the Romish inhabitants of those parts, conferring with many of them "in the most kind and familiar manner that he could, and confirming our doctrines and confuting their assertions, by the touchstone of all truth, the Holy Scriptures." These efforts it seems were kindly taken, by the humbler people in particular, as appears from what the bishop immediately subjoins—"As for the poorer sort," Diligence of the bishop. says he, "some of them have not only discovered unto me privately their dislike of popery, and of the mass, in regard they understand not what is said or done therein; but also groaned under the burden of the many priests, in respect of the double tithes and offerings, the one paid by them unto us, and the other unto them. Being then de-

His difficulties in dealing with the adherents of Rome.

* See this Report given in the *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Records in Ireland*, vol. i, p. 264. Mant i, 369, seqq.

A. D. 1612. manded of me, why they did not forsake the mass and come to church? their answer hath been: that if they should be of our religion, no popish merchant would employ them being sailors, no popish landlords would let them any lands being husbandmen, nor set them houses in tenantry being artificers, and therefore they must either starve or do as they do." Those of the richer sort, he adds, from constant intercourse with Romish priests, were no less untractable.

Further account of his exertions and hindrances.

Bishop Ram had been at this time seven years in occupancy of his two sees; and had for so long a period been constantly resident in one or other of them. He had also every year visited each of them in person. He likewise with his clergy, maintained a diocesan school in each; but the people were warned not to send their children to them, on pain of excommunication by their Romish priests, and with assurance that they would certainly be damned if they sent them; and likewise that the parents who brought children to the Protestant clergy for baptism, with the children so baptised "were damned" also.

Injuries done to the See of Ferns by preceding prelates.

In speaking of the income of his sees, the bishop mentions that great injury had been done to that of Ferns "by the many fee farms made thereof by his predecessors, especially by Alex-

ander Devereux and John Devereux," to their kindred and illegitimate children. We need wonder little if under such influence the priests and other agents of Rome had found it an easy matter to gain much power and influence among the people. A. D. 1612.

It is interesting to observe that of the incumbents of the twenty-seven benefices in Ferns at this time, (who were all with two or three exceptions resident in their cures,) nine were acquainted with the Irish language; and in Leighlin, where there were fifty-one benefices, fourteen, including two of English birth, were in like manner acquainted with our native tongue. Irish understood by several of the clergy in those parts.

The year (1613) next following that in which this return was made, was one of much political and religious excitement in Ireland, connected with important public events, which then engrossed universal attention throughout the land, and exercised subsequently a very important influence over the condition and circumstances of its people. For in this year King James, who, as the first English monarch that was actual ruler of all Ireland, was extremely anxious to settle its constitution on an improved basis, had made arrangements, with this object in view, for assembling a national parliament from all parts of the entire island. Twenty-seven years, including a long period of distraction, Proceedings connected with the first Irish parliament of King James.
A. D. 1613.

A. D. 1613.

tion and tumult, had now passed since any parliament had been convened in this kingdom; and in the mean time seventeen additional counties had been called into existence; and these, with a number of newly created boroughs, which the Lord Deputy was daily increasing by virtue of a royal commission, seemed to afford a prospect that in the next parliament the inhabitants of every class and order, old English, new British, and aboriginal Irish, should be fully represented. But at these proceedings the recusants, (that is to say, such as held aloof, under the influence of Rome, from the communion and worship of the Church,) were not a little alarmed. The summoning of a parliament, after so long an interval, must be, as they conceived, for some purposes of moment; and what those purposes might be, unless for promoting the Reformation, or persecuting its opponents, they knew not. The newly formed boroughs too, they feared, must be entirely subject to government influence, and sure to return only its creatures and dependents.

Exertions of
the Papal
party on
this occa-
sion.

Agents were therefore despatched from the Pale into every province by the members of this party, to support the elections of their friends, and to secure the interest and aid of every influential person for their side in this great struggle. The Romish clergy preached up "the

cause of religion," and uttered their denunciations of excommunication against those who should presume to vote in opposition to the friends of the Holy Roman Church. With the lower classes of the Irish they occasionally proceeded still further, assuring them that "Tyrone was coming" to invade the kingdom once more, and that if they would only stand firm to the faith, they should soon prove triumphant over all its enemies. At the same time the recusant lawyers were using all their influence, for similar ends, with the better classes of society. And their efforts were crowned with no small success, for most of the privy councillors who stood for knights of the shire, although supported by all the influence of the crown, and of their party, were in the issue defeated; their opponents being young barristers "whose chief recommendations were some factious notoriety, and the favour of the priesthood" of Rome.*

A. D. 1612.

These lawyers, it must be observed, were now beginning to attract much notice, the precipitate legislation of King James for Ireland having suddenly brought out their order into political existence, and invested them with no

The bishops and lawyers of Rome attain to great influence over the multitudes.

* Phelan, 254. See for an account of the proceedings of this parliament, Sir R. Cox's *History of Ireland*. Rothe's *Analecta*. Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, and the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, Vol. I.

A. D. 1612. small consequence. An important social revolution had been effected in the county by the act which emancipated the people of Ireland from the tyrannous rule of their native lords, and made them free subjects of the king. Thus endowed with liberty before they had been educated for the use of it, and before they were capable of appreciating its sweets or its responsibilities, we need not wonder if they were found very willing to lay down the new and irksome gift at the feet of their spiritual instructors; so that by this means the agents of Rome, her priests and prelates, became suddenly invested with a dominion over the populace for which their order had long and obstinately struggled in vain. A subordinate share of their newly acquired power was prudently given to the lawyers, who in their turn have ever willingly repaid the patronage of their Church by a vigorous and submissive co-operation. "By the abrupt introduction of English law, the advice of these men had become a matter of almost daily necessity to multitudes of the natives, who were ignorant of their new rule of life: from advice it was no difficult step to authority, and authority acquired somewhat of a sacred character from the sanction of the ecclesiastics."*

Thus, instead of their ancient native princes

* Phelan, p. 245.

chiefs, and nobles, the Irish were henceforth to find their popular guides among the bishops, priests, and lawyers of the communion of Rome; those of English extraction in particular being, it seems, the ones who were by far the most apt to lead them on in traitorous designs against the peace and welfare of the Church and government of their native land.* The populace of Ireland, for ages despised, crushed, and persecuted by the influence of the Italian prelate and his court, were now for the future to be caressed, flattered, and won over, as valuable auxiliaries in the struggle against British power. It had been the policy of Rome in former times to arm England against Ireland. Now on the contrary Ireland was to be armed against England. In both cases alike, international hatred and strife were employed by that foreign ecclesiastical dynasty, for maintaining in these islands its usurped and unnatural influence.

A. D. 1613.

Bad humours in Ireland secreted from the "English blood" in particular.

And now, the elections being over, the recusant members, elated by their victories, "set out in triumphant procession from the scenes of their respective contests to the seat of govern-

The assembling of parliament accompanied by popular demonstrations.

* "It is known by experience," says Father Walsh, a cotemporary, "that one prelate or churchman of the old English stock, hath been heretofore and is at present, more able to work the loyalty of the same extraction to traitorous designs than a whole hundred of the other." Phelan, 247, note, see also pp. 677, 788, &c. sup.

A. D. 1613.

Opening of
parliament,
preceded by
attendance
at public
worship ;

from which
however the
recusant
nobility now
absent
themselves.

ment ; the rustic populace, men, women, and even children received them with shouts of tumultuous greeting, and admonitions to take care of the 'Catholic' faith : as they passed along, the contagion of enthusiasm added incessantly to their cavalcades, and they made their entry into the capital at the head of troops of armed retainers."* Romish priests also at the same time were crowding to Dublin from all quarters of the country to direct and animate the exertions of their political representatives.

Parliament assembled accordingly on Tuesday, the 18th of May, and was on that day opened in great state by the Lord Deputy, Arthur, Lord Chichester ; after that he had previously been present at public worship in St. Patrick's Cathedral ; where, divine service having ended, the Lord Primate, Christopher Hampton, (who had been consecrated in Dublin on the 8th day of the same month,) preached before the nobility, prelates, and clergy of the realm, excepting the recusant nobility. For of the latter we are particularly informed, that on this occasion they "went not into the Church, neither heard divine service or sermon,† notwithstanding they were lords of the parliament house, and rode towards the Church with other lords of estate ; yet they stayed without during

* Phelan's *Policy*, 255.

† See p. 854, sup.

the time of service and sermon. Now when service was over, the Lord Deputy returned back to the Castle, [where the parliament was to meet,] and those recusant lords joined themselves again with rest of the estate, and rode to the Castle in manner as before they came from thence.* In fact, from the time that notice had been given in the preceding year, of the king's intention of calling a parliament, the leaders of the recusant party had been organizing their plan of opposition; and the nobles of the Pale belonging to that party, who were moreover *of the English race*,† had begun so early as the 25th of November, 1612, to address their expostulatory letters to the king, remonstrating against various matters connected with the approaching parliament, such as the multiplying of new boroughs, &c. "We do humbly pray," say they in their letter of the above date, "that your majesty *will benignly content yourself* with the service of understanding men to come as knights of the shires *out of the chief countries to the parliament*," so as not to allow

A. D. 1612.

The Anglican lords of the Pale foremost as agitators, at this crisis.

* See "*A Chronicle of Lord Chichester's Government of Ireland, for the years 1612-1615.*" *Desid. Cur.* i. 167. Dub. 1772. See also p. 204, *ib.* where it is noted that the same conduct was repeated on Whitsunday, May 23rd. The writer obviously wishes to mark as a *novelty* the circumstance of the recusant nobility absenting themselves from the reformed worship. From which it would appear that now for the first time they were remarked for so doing. See p. 864, *sup.*

† Vide p. 677 *note, sup.*

A. D. 1613.

Disorderly
proceedings
at the open-
ing of the
session.

any representatives for the present from "the remote and unsettled countries here." It was indeed no wonder that those lords of the Pale should be highly indignant at a proceeding which went so far to put an end to their own dear monopoly of power.

In the House of Lords on this occasion, the recusants formed "a hopeless minority." In the lower house also, contrary to their anticipations, they found that although the members were more equally divided, their adversaries exceeded them in number by twenty-four voices. Out of 232 members returned, 6 being absent, 125 of the remainder were favourers of the reformed religion, leaving but 101 recusant members. On proceeding to elect a speaker, a disgraceful scene of confusion followed; for the Protestant members who supported the government candidate, Sir J. Davies, having retired from the place of assemblage into an adjoining room, for the purpose of counting numbers, were astonished on their return to find that their adversaries, although clearly in a minority, had placed their own candidate, Sir John Everard, a recusant knight, in the speaker's chair. Whereupon, they having insisted in vain on his leaving it, the proposer and seconder of Davies led him up to the place, and seated him in Everard's lap. After much tumult the chair was left to

Davies, and the house to his supporters. The recusants finding themselves defeated in this business, and resolving to absent themselves from the house until their demands should be more favourably received, proceeded without delay to organize for the furtherance of their projects, two institutions which have since, on different occasions, attracted much notice: a "Catholic Association" and a "Catholic Rent"—"Catholic" of course only in that restricted and technical sense of the term, in which it is so commonly applied among members of the Italian communion. Meanwhile Dublin became the scene of such fearful agitation and excitement, that to allay the commotion, and gain time for consulting with the English cabinet, the viceroy thought good to prorogue the parliament.*

A. D. 1613.

The Lord Deputy prorogues the parliament.

Subsequent proceedings of the recusant party ;

And now the recusants, resolving to present to the king in the most urgent form, their applications for redress of their grievances, made arrangements for sending over to London an imposing deputation of delegates to advance their cause ; and they selected accordingly for this purpose, eight peers, about twice as many members of the lower house, and a number of legal advisers to complete the mission. Of all these noblemen and members of parliament, it

* Phelan, 261. See also Cox and Leland, and the old papal writers, O'Sullivan, Rothe, &c.

A. D. 1612.
of the Eng-
lish blood in
particular.

appears that only two were of the old Irish stock; the others of the English race, and men whose fathers had ever cherished for the lower orders of the Irish, the utmost hatred and contempt. But it served their ends at this time to come out as "Irish patriots."

A "Catholic
Rent" set
on foot,

To support the mission, which was found to be an expensive kind of affair, the first "Catholic Rent" was imposed, and the collection of it entrusted to the priests and lawyers. The scale of obligatory assessment, to be enforced if necessary by spiritual censures, included three rates; five shillings for a gentleman, two shillings for a yeoman, and fourpence for a peasant. No limits were assigned to the voluntary offerings of the wealthy or the devout; and such was the munificent zeal of the time, that a stock of 200 cows and horses was obtained by a friar in one day from one rustic congregation.* The viceroy at first expected that gentle measures and the private influence of government would be sufficient, in concurrence with the poverty of the people, to abolish this novel impost. Such a mode of treating the case proving however insufficient, a more energetic and successful method was resorted to, in the form of a proclamation by the Lord Deputy and council, dated July 9, 1613, which forbade all his Majesty's faithful people

which how-
ever meets
with an im-
pediment.

*Vid. Appendix, No. 64 *inf.*

to consent to such extortions, or pay any such sums of money on the pretences alleged, or to assist in collecting it ; and commanded also that the collectors should, within ten days after the date of the proclamation, pay back all such sums as they had already received, to the parties who had contributed the same.

A. D. 1613.

That this proclamation was not without effect, appears from what follows. For the delegates who had proceeded to London, having obtained little satisfaction from the king, and having rather been publicly exposed as acting in a manner that was both seditious and foolish ; and having met on the whole with various discouragements, they were at length, by the treatment which they received, reduced to so submissive a temper, that they addressed to his majesty a memorial, praying, among other things, " that as their means were altogether spent, and the supply of their wants obstructed by his Majesty's deputy in Ireland, they might be permitted to return home ;" a request which, not without undisguised contempt, was readily granted.

In success of the political mission to England.

The parliament, after this matter had so ended, having been re-assembled by the Lord Deputy, proceeded at length, after many delays, to its regular business, in A.D. 1615. Recent events, it seems, had led the recusants to alter their plan of operation ; and, in place of hosti-

The recusants alter their line of policy.

A. D. 1615.

lity and opposition, recourse was now had to a policy of conciliation; prudently no doubt, for otherwise the mass of the people, protected by the government, and shewn how vain was their dread of persecution, might have been severed once more from the sway of that foreign ecclesiastical ascendancy which had now begun to embrace them so closely. In illustration of the change which had come over the recusant party and their leaders, it may suffice to mention, that in this parliament the bill of attainder of their old friends, O'Neill, O'Dogherty, and O'Donnel, &c., was brought in by Sir J. Everard (with the sanction of the authorities of the Romish communion in Ireland,) and passed unanimously.

They are
favoured
with a fresh
pastoral
from Rome,
A.D. 1614.

About this time, or perhaps on hearing the news of what had occurred in the commencement of the parliament aforesaid, the Sovereign Pontiff, Paul V., took occasion again to address one of his goodly bulls to the "faithful people" of Ireland, transmitting to them therein thanksgivings, indulgences, and prayers, for their excellent spirit of unanimity, and unbending resolution to maintain "the Catholic faith."*

The Irish
convocation
of A.D.
1615,

At the same time with the parliament of 1615 was held also a convocation of the archbishops, bishops, and other clergy of the Church of Ireland, to which the royal visitation of the dio-

* See Appendix, No. 69, *inf.*

ceses of Ireland in 1612, already noticed, would seem to have been preparatory. This appears to be the first convocation mentioned under that name in our records; although some of the writers who allude to it, speak of the meeting of convocation as a customary accompaniment of the assembling of parliament.* Be that however as it may, in this convocation of the Irish clergy, which met in 1615, there were drawn up and agreed to for the use of the Irish Church, a number of "Articles of Religion," consisting of 104 paragraphs, arranged under 19 heads; and including, among other propositions, the famous "Lambeth Articles." But these articles of 1615 continued in use only for about 25 years, after which the English Articles of A.D. 1562, having been adopted by the Irish Convocation of 1634 for use in this country, the others very soon fell into desuetude, and the practice of subscribing to them was, from A.D. 1641 downwards, entirely discontinued.†

A. D. 1615.

agrees upon certain articles of religion,

which however soon fall into disrepute.

Meanwhile the friends and allies of the Church of Rome, who had been making use of such violent political convulsions as have been already described, for the purpose of overthrowing that order and arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs

Exertions towards maintaining a Romish hierarchy, &c., in Ireland.

* Drs. Bernard, Farr, &c., quoted in Mant, i, 381. See also the quotation from the Loftus MS. in p. 760 sup.

† See Mant, i, 382, 388, and the authorities referred to in that place.

A. D. 1615.

which had been agreed to by the legitimate authorities of the Church and realm of Ireland, were at the same time not much less diligent in taking measures for perpetuating their own system of religion in the country, and keeping up the existence of a body of persons devoted to the interests of the see of Rome, and ready to extend as widely as possible her influence and authority. And as the lawful bishops of Ireland had now all shaken off the yoke of the foreign prelate, and no longer acknowledged his right to interfere with the concerns of their Church, other bishops were therefore appointed from time to time, to come and assume, by virtue of papal grants, the titles and the jurisdiction of the Irish prelates who had embraced the Reformation; and to connect with themselves all whom they could persuade to join their communion, and forsake that of the Reformed Catholic Church of Ireland.

Episcopal appointments often disputed between popes and Romish kings.

It had often happened that in this and other countries disputes had arisen between the popes and the kings of those countries, about the appointment of bishops to particular places; and it would sometimes occur that two rival claimants would assume the title of the same bishopric, one by authority of the king, the other by virtue of the pope's grant. So, for instance, when Henry VIII. had promoted Dowdall to

the archbishopric of Armagh, the latter, though a zealous adherent of the Romish Church, could never succeed in obtaining a confirmation of his appointment from the bishop of Rome, that prelate having nominated Waucop to the office, as already stated.* In general however some circumstance decided, at least practically, in favour of one of the rival claimants, as the death of the other, local influences, &c. Thus in the case of Dowdall, he was recognized, both in the reign of Henry VIII., and that of Mary, as lawful primate. At other times, as for instance in the case of Archbishop Browne, the pope did not interfere with the king's authority by appointing a different person.

A. D. 1615.

But such disputes as these affected only particular bishoprics, and the persons who were nominated to fill them; not so much the state of the Church in general, or its faith. Two rival candidates might be equally attached to the religion of Rome, and yet one of them more pleasing than the other to the pope. And even when the Irish bishops, as a body, agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of Queen Elizabeth, and to reject the usurped authority of Rome, although more violent and wholesale measures of opposition were then resorted to, and papal titular prelates became still more active in the political affairs

The Irish titular episcopate less ancient than the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

* See p. 714 *sup.*, and the note there. Also p. 619.

A. D. 1615.

of the country, yet not even then does a design appear to have been formed of constructing an entirely new Church for this country, with an entirely new succession of bishops, deriving their orders from foreign prelates, and depending for their authority on a foreign Church. It seems indeed that it was only in the primatial and metropolitan sees that much care was taken by the Roman court to preserve any approach to a regular succession of prelates of their new mission ; while of such titular bishops as were thus appointed, some appear to have never visited or inspected their nominal charges. For Ireland had once already, in the days of the Kings Henry VIII. and Edward VI., followed the example of England in shaking off her allegiance to Rome ; but had again repented in the days of Queen Mary, and returned to her submission. And although the reformed faith had been restored once more in the days of Elizabeth, yet who could tell but that the Italian doctrines might, under the auspices of a new monarch, regain the ground that had been lost, and that prelates and people might again return universally to "the mother Church." This consideration possibly may have caused the popes to move rather slowly in the work of nominating titular bishops for this country, appointing them as it would seem rather to gratify and indulge their friends,

and to satisfy the covetousness and ambition of importunate candidates for the episcopal office, than from any anxiety on their own part to be over hasty in attempting to construct a new hierarchy for Ireland. Accordingly it can hardly be stated with correctness that at the close of Elizabeth's reign there were as yet two Churches in Ireland;* for, although there were numberless recusants, that is, Romish dissenters from the established religion, with some titular prelates and even primates of their party, still they had not as yet adopted means for organizing their body in a regular and complete ecclesiastical form, so as to supply all Ireland with a new episcopacy.

A. D. 1615.

After the death of the titular primate Magauran, which occurred as already recorded, in A.D. 1594, no papal primate was appointed in Ireland for the space of nearly fifteen years, until at length Peter Lombard was nominated about A.D. 1603 probably, for the exact date is not, as far as I can find, on record.† And although mention is made in our annals of several titular prelates connected with different Irish sees, (as Down, Derry, Killaloe, &c.,) who flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, yet it does not appear that any of them were surviving in the reign of King James, except Cornelius Ryan, or

Only one Romish titular bishop connected with Ireland on the accession of King James, A.D. 1603,

* See Appendix, No. 75, *inf.* † See Appendix Nos. 26, 62, 65, 66, *inf.*

A. D. 1613.
and he resident in Spain.

Two others added about A.D. 1608,

and two more very soon after.

Only one resident in Ireland in 1613.

Measures adopted by the recu-

O'Melrian, titular bishop of Killaloe, who was living abroad; and who appears, according to this statement, to have been the only Romish bishop having the title of an Irish see, and that of course by usurpation, in the first years of the reign of King James I. Peter Lombard was added, as titular primate, about the year 1608, if not earlier; and David Carney, as titular Archbishop of Cashel, about the same time, or soon after. And to these again were added, without much delay, two others, namely, Owen M'Mahon for Dublin, and Florence Conroy for Tuam; their appointment having taken place at Rome, shortly after the arrival there of the exiled Hugh O'Neill, and by his influence; and the principal immediate object of their elevation to such an office being apparently, that they might in a more dignified character present themselves to foreign courts, as the agents of "the Prince of Ulster," soliciting pecuniary and military aid in his behalf. Of these five titulars here mentioned, David Carney, of Cashel, was the only one residing in Ireland in 1613. But Owen M'Mahon came afterwards in like manner, to occupy himself in the labours connected with his usurped office.*

Such was the state of the titular hierarchy of Ireland at the period of our history at present

* Appendix, *ib.* and No. 68. Also O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath. ut sup.*

under consideration. Measures were however now to be adopted for setting about the improvement of this establishment in earnest, as a work which could no longer be safely delayed. For the experience of ten years had shewn that it were idle to wait for King James to restore the Roman religion in Ireland, however fondly some at first might have hoped for such a result of his accession. For the purpose therefore of making a commencement of the business of regular organisation of their community, and as a model, it would seem, for the other provinces, a conference or synod of the papal clergy of the province of Armagh was convened at Drogheda for several days, and terminated there in the month of February, 1614. At this meeting were present sundry Romish ecclesiastics, calling themselves by the style of "right reverend lords vicars-general, officials, and rural deans," with certain select professors of theology, papal canonists, and members of the regular orders of Jesuits, Franciscans, and Cisterians. A minute of their proceedings, comprised in one of the Ussher MSS. of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,* conveys to us a good deal of instructive intelligence concerning the matters transacted by this assembly; from which, as throwing some light on the germination of the modern Irish

A. D. 1614.
 sants for or-
 ganizing a
 new hierar-
 chy, &c.
 A.D. 1614.

Account of
 the titular
 synod of
 Drogheda.

* MS. E. 3, 8, in the MS. Library, T.C.D.

A. D. 1614.

Concerning
the author-
ity and ob-
jects of this
meeting.

which is
held under
the sanction
of Peter
Lombard, a
pretended
primate of
all Ireland.

branch of the Church of Rome, it will be useful to make rather copious extracts in this place.

The minute commences with a preface "To the Reader," giving an account of the authority whereby these ecclesiastics took upon themselves to deliberate in such a manner on Church affairs, the occasion of their coming together, &c. "In the absence," say they, "of the archbishop of Armagh, primate of the whole realm, who has heretofore been detained at Rome by public business, it appeared to be our concern, especially as all the suffragan sees of that province were vacant, to provide some proper course, such as we might find to be most in accordance with the sacred canons, and with the principles of natural right and reason, for the government of the Catholic clergy and people in order to their everlasting salvation. This we were the more bound to do, inasmuch as the said most illustrious primate had committed to us the plenitude of his jurisdiction; on the strength of which we issued notice to all vicars-general, with certain rural deans, and other of the more eminent persons of the clergy of this province," to assemble together for the purpose of deliberating on the present state of ecclesiastical affairs. And having held with their assistance "a kind of substitute for a provincial synod, we have ordained," say they, "sundry rules and constitu-

tions, by which the Catholic clergy, and the people committed to their charge, may be assisted and guided; saving the rights of the better judgment and authority of the apostolic see, to whose correction we willingly record our submission." After such a preface, commences the "Minute of this Provincial Conference," divided into four *capital distinctions* or chapters, and an appendix. The headings of the four chapters are first given, and are as follows:—

A. D. 1614.

"The *First Capital Distinction* relates to the subject of the maintaining of an hierarchy and system of jurisdiction for this province, to avoid confusion, during the absence of its prelate, and while the suffragan sees are without bishops.

The titular ecclesiastics usurp spiritual jurisdiction;

"The *Second Capital Distinction* relates to the rites of religion, and the due and uniform administration of the sacraments.

Interfere with the ministry and sacraments;

"The *Third Capital Distinction* relates to the reformation of manners, and the abolition of certain abuses, whether of recent introduction or of older standing.

take on them to be reformers of manners, &c.;

"The *Fourth Capital Distinction* relates to the appointment and observance of days of fasting and of abstinence, and of holidays; to which is subjoined an ancient constitution relative to tithes and church furniture.

and also to regulate fasts, festivals, &c.

"The appendix to the conference is concern-

A. D. 1614.

Their plan
"for the settle-
ment of ecclesiasti-
cal discipline."

ing the marriage reforms of Trent, and the Gregorian calendar."

The first of these chapters is again subdivided into five sections called *Documents*, or lessons of instruction, for the guidance of the northern recusants. And although it be not our purpose to give here a full account of the records of this papal synod, yet there are in this first chapter in particular, and in the *documents* of which it consists, matters worthy of our attention, which deserve to be illustrated by further extracts, as will appear from what follows:—

Document 1, ch. 1, "concerns the settlement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of an hierarchy." It intimates "that in order to repair the state of ecclesiastical discipline, and extricate it from its present confusion, and for the purpose of tracing the outline and semblance, at least, of a legitimate hierarchy; forasmuch as there have been already appointed for the several dioceses of this province vicars general or officials, on whom devolves, according to their proper office and authority, in the absence or defect of rightful bishops, the care of governing and the administering of jurisdiction within the proper limits of their districts,—it has been determined on as expedient, by common consent, that the said vicars-general shall make a selection of suitable persons, with sufficient literature, probity, and

The titular
vicars-general to ap-
point new
parish
priests.

prudence," to be appointed and authorized by these vicars-general, to act as parish priests in the several dioceses, and "to administer the sacraments according to the exigency of the people dwelling in them." "And all," adds this *document*, "as well vicars-general as rural deans and parish priests, are to summon and invite frequently persons of the regular orders, and others noted for zeal and learning, to preach, catechize, and assist in the better performance of ecclesiastical offices, according to their opportunities and the necessities of their localities; and are to lend to these fellow-labourers, according to their ability, a cheerful and ready aid, as occasion may require."

A. D. 1614.

Document 2, of the same chapter, is "concerning directions for ecclesiastical persons, not to involve themselves in matters of public business, or merely secular cares, which do not appertain to them." In this the priests are forbidden to meddle with matters of state policy, or give any offence to the king or government, except by attending to their spiritual duties; or to mix themselves up in the concerns of any private family; or undertake the office of steward, receiver, agent, or accountant, for any secular person, however high his rank; or have any dealings about the setting of houses, lands, or farms, or money at interest, or secular contracts;

Their clergy
exhorted to
separation
from worldly
affairs, &c.

A. D. 1614.

Wisdom &
policy of
such coun-
sel.

or to act the part of dependent, parasite, buffoon, or jester to any person, however great his quality: "from which practices, if they shall not refrain after due admonition," say these papal authorities, "we ordain that they may and ought to be punished by the ordinary, in proportion to the gravity of their contempt." Such regulations as these exhibited no small wisdom, according to the manner in which they were intended to be put in practice; and could not fail to help in raising the dignity of the newly appointed clergy in the eyes of the people, and to increase the sacredness of their character; especially when contrasted with some of the clergy and prelates of the Church, who, besides their being much involved in state affairs and public business, were also in many cases leading very careless and worldly lives, and were moreover too often guilty of injuring the welfare and interests of the Church, in order to promote their private ends, and gain advantages for their own families, and friends, and relatives. At the same time, the history of that age fully shows us, how little the agents of Rome thought in reality of refraining from intermeddling with state affairs, their peculiar doctrines rather leading men, almost of necessity, to such schemes of

* See the extract from Bp. Bramhall's letter in Appendix lxi. *inf.* already referred to at p. 863, *sup.*

rebellion as have been repeatedly exemplified in this history. Only to a certain extent, and in a certain way, the subordinate officers and humbler ministers of their system were, by the prudent policy of the Jesuits and other members of this Conference, to be restrained from entering upon plans of the kind on their own account. Thus would they, while attending to their spiritual concerns, and learning and teaching lessons of blind obedience to Rome, be formed into a force more manageable and better available for the general movements of their ecclesiastical chieftains.

A. D. 1614.

Document 3, of the same chapter, helps to illustrate these remarks, by an instance of licensed hostility to the proceedings of the civil government. For this document is directed against King James's oath of allegiance, and the oaths of supremacy of the preceding monarchs, Henry VIII., &c. The members of the synod profess that they detest, with the Catholic Church, treason and rebellion, but that they cannot, without most evident and serious insult to the honour of God, take these oaths, considering them to be opposed to the Catholic faith, and to the salvation of souls.*

The synod
condemns
King
James's
oath of alle-
giance.

Document 4, "Contains a statement with directions relative to the duty of lay persons

The laity
cautioned

* See Appendix, No. 72, *inf.* and the illustrations of the popular doctrines of this age and party there given,

A. D. 1614.
 {
 against par-
 ticipation in
 the worship
 of the
 Church.

with respect to communicating in matters of religion with heretics, [*i.e.*, the Catholic Church of Ireland,] or going to their churches, or hearing their sermons." Such is the heading of this division; but the matter of it is unfortunately deficient in the manuscript which contains the record. The heading itself however seems plainly to indicate that there appeared among the people at that time too great a willingness to continue their adherence to the worship and rites of their old Church; and that the papal clergy found it necessary to take active measures for putting a stop to the practice as far as was possible. The remainder of the *minute* is of less consequence to our present subject, and cannot therefore be any further enlarged upon in this place.

Similar synod or conference of the titular clergy of Leinster.

From the life of Owen Mac Mahon, (or according to the anglicised form of his name, Eugene Matthews,) who was titular archbishop of Dublin at this time, it appears that in the latter province also, as well as in Armagh, there was held in the same year (1614) a meeting of the papal clergy, similar to that which we have been just considering. In June of this year*, we are informed that, Archbishop Matthews "presided at a conference held in the city of Kilkenny, for the reformation and good government

* See Dalton's *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 384, seqq.

of the province of Dublin, on which occasion decrees were passed. 1st. For the reception of the Canons of the Council of Trent, as far as compatible with the time and circumstances. 2ndly. For the establishment of vicars, and the appointment of deans to preside over the priesthood." 5th. For the decorous celebration of the mass that at least a clean place should be selected where the altar might be sheltered from wind and rain . . . 7th. For the maintenance of the priests, (inasmuch as the ecclesiastical revenues were in the hands of those opposed to their Church,) by collections from their flock . . . 8th. For the morality of the clergy, their abstaining from mercantile pursuits, worldly traffic, farming, and especially from intermeddling in the affairs of the state or political questions, &c., &c.

A. D. 1614.

It appears therefore that at this time the clergy of the Romish persuasion in Ireland were busily engaged in organizing their newly-formed communion in this country, appointing "vicars-general," "deans," "parish priests," &c.; a new hierarchy, new succession, new orders, new canons, and, in short, an entirely new ecclesiastical establishment for Ireland. A still more comprehensive and interesting account of their proceedings, for the accomplishment of this object, is furnished to us by the famous Romish author,

Philip
O'Sullivan's
account of
the new
arrange-
ments,
A.D. 1621.

A. D. 1621.

Philip O'Sullivan, who, in the reign of King James, was living as an exile at the court of Spain; and there published, in A.D. 1621, his rancorous and bitter production, entitled, a "Compendium of the Catholic History of Ireland," which we have had occasion to refer to more than once already in the present history.

Foreigners and foreign seminaries very influential in the business.

In this work O'Sullivan gives us an account of the assistance which had been supplied to the Irish by foreigners, and especially by the king of Spain, towards the support of the papal religion in Ireland, by providing for the education of the youth in seminaries established for that purpose beyond sea, by having them thus trained up for holy orders, and by providing means and money for such purposes. He then adds, that many also of the rich and affluent Irish paid for the support of persons who were sent over to be educated in Roman Catholic countries, that they might return again to Ireland and help to repair the losses which Rome had sustained in their native land by the influence of the Reformation. After which he proceeds to give the following account of the doings of the Romanists in Ireland itself at the time when he wrote :*

Zeal and artifices of the monastic orders.

"In Ireland likewise," observes our author, "there are yet some attaching themselves to the religious orders, while still greater numbers are

* Hist. Cath. tom. 4, lib. 1. cap. 17.

receiving ordination for the sacred office. These administer the sacraments, assist such as are firm in the faith, establish the wavering, support the falling, raise up the downcast: they give expositions of the Holy Gospel, preach sermons to the people, expose the artful schemes of the heretics. The more frequently they are ordered to quit the kingdom, the more pleasure they feel in remaining there; aye, and even in flocking together into it. To avoid being observed by the English, they dress themselves in the apparel of lay persons; and appear, some as merchants, or medical men, some as knights, equipped with dirk and sword, others under other characters and pretences.

A. D. 1621.

“And in order that there may be priests in all parts of the kingdom to attend to the cure of souls, a salutary plan has been set on foot, for the better understanding of which we are to bear in mind, that there are in Ireland four archbishoprics and a large number of bishoprics; and that at the present day [A.D. 1621,] they are all held by ringleaders of heresy, [*i.e.*, Catholic bishops of the Reformed Church,] and that [R.] Catholic prelates are not appointed [*i.e.*, by the pope of Rome] to the titles belonging to them, unless in some few instances, for this reason, that it is considered that such a number of bishops could not, without the ecclesiastical dues, main-

Method adopted for providing a new body of clergymen for the parishes of Ireland.

A. D. 1621.

Of titular
bishops for
Ireland,
only two re-
sident and
two non-
resident in
this age.

tain their proper dignity and consequence. On which account four [titular] archbishops, who have been consecrated by the Roman pontiff,* are appointing priests, or clerks, or persons of the religious orders, for vicars-general, in the suffragan bishoprics, with the sanction of the apostolic see. And Eugene Mac Magauna [*i.e.*, Mac Mahon,] the [titular] Archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Kearney, of Cashel, are encountering great perils and immense labours in attending personally to the feeding of the sheep of their archbishoprics. While Peter Lombard, the [titular] Archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, [or Conroy] of Tuam, (who for many reasons is unable to live in Ireland secure from the English,) have entrusted the charge of their provinces to vicars."

Note on the
origin and
character of
this new ec-
clesiastical
establish-
ment.

Philip O'Sullivan then goes on to give a boastful account of the number of priests, friars, &c., of Rome, to be found in Ireland preaching disloyalty and schism, and of their incredible activity and zeal for their bad cause. We must note however that as he is of no great character for truthfulness or honesty,† his words are not

* See p. 890, sup. Also, Appendix, Nos. 65 and 66, *inf.*

† "Philip O'Sullivan? A worthy author to ground a report of antiquity upon, who, in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any, I verily think, that this day breatheth in Christendom." Abp. Usher, in his *Religion of the A. I.*, chap. 8, near the end.

much to be depended on where a falsehood will help his argument. Still his account of the first construction of the modern Irish branch of the Roman Church is curious and interesting; and corroborated as it is from other sources of information, we may well regard it as full worthy of credit; for he must have been well acquainted with those movements of his party which are here recorded, and in describing them he appears to state merely simple facts. From his narrative, as well as from other evidence, it appears that in A.D. 1621, all the Irish sees being occupied by Protestants, there were at that time but four bishops connected with the Romish Church in our country: two living in Ireland, and the other two in foreign parts.* Such was the original nucleus of the present Romish Church in this island—such its first bishops and officers. They were at best but emissaries from the pope, and intruders in our Church and realm, disturbing, by their interference, its peace and liberty; and their followers could be justly regarded only as dissenters and separatists from the Church of Ireland. Such, too, are their descendants, the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, with their followers, to this day; men whose entire ecclesiastical authority, appointment, and orders, are de-

A. D. 1621.

The newly-intended priests and bishops no successors of Patrick and Columbkille.

* O'Melrian, the titular of Killaloe, (pp. 788, 790, sup.) seems to have died before this date.

A. D. 1622.

nor even
connected
together by
any sort of
regular Irish
succession.

Bishop
Downham's
testimony in
regard to
this matter.

rived from the usurped power of a foreign prelate. None of them have ever been ordained by any bishops of the ancient Church of Patrick and Columbkille, nor can they possibly shew themselves to be possessed of any succession from those bishops. Nay, they have not even preserved any continued series approaching to the nature of a regular succession, from those first bishops of their own above noticed.

Some further light on the subject of the first construction and budding forth of this new Romish communion, and on the character of its agents and superintendents, is furnished to us by a respectable prelate of the Reformed Church, who flourished at this time. In the early part of the year 1622, King James having issued a commission for a visitation by royal authority, of the province of Ulster, reports were accordingly furnished by the respective diocesans, of the true state of their several bishoprics; and these reports for all the dioceses except that of Dromore are still extant in a manuscript of the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Now in the report of the condition of the Church in Derry, George Downham, bishop of that diocese, besides giving the usual particulars relative to the state of the benefices, churches, ministers, &c., of his charge, supplies us further with the following information in regard to the members of the Ro-

mish communion, and the movements of their clergy, in the same district.* A. D. 1622.

“Besides the jurisdiction,” says he, “exercised by my chancellor and official, there is a jurisdiction usurped by authority from Rome, to the greate disonor of God, hinderance of religion, and shame of the government.”

“The chief authority as I understand, derived from Rome, is in Eugenius M‘Mahon, pretended archbishop of Dublin, and David Routh, the pretended vice-primate of Armagh. By thiese was Bernard M‘Cragh made vicar-general of the diocese of Derry, and after him Patterick M‘Mahon. By him are priests placed in everie parishe to celebrate the Masse, and to exercise all other priestly functions, who though they be rude, ignorant, and vicious fellows, yet carry the natives after them generally, neither is there any hope of reformation, whiles they are suffered to reside among the people.”

“Under the vicar-general are placed four officials at the least, who amongst many other abominations which they practice, doe for small rewardes, divorce married couples, and sett them at liberty to marry others, insomuch that there is scarce anie man of yeares, but he hath more

Working out of the system in the diocese of Derry.

Scandalous irregularities of the new clergy.

* See Archbishop Usher's Visitation Book, MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Mant i. 476.

A. D. 1622.

Bishop
Downham's
ill success in
endeavour-
ing to stay
the evil.

wyves lyving, and few women which have not plurality of husbands.

"For the removeing of theise popish priests," adds Bishop Downham, "our lawes are weake, our power lesse, neither can I get the assistance of the military men as I desire, and that which discourageth me most is, that when either I have gotten any of them apprehended, convicted and committed, they have been by corruption set at libertie to follow their former courses ; or when I have excommunicated them, and proceeded by writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the Sherifes of the county of Londonderry, Tyrone, and Dunnagal cannot be got to apprehend them and bring them to prison."

Observation
on his mode
of grappling
with it.

Such was the state of operations connected with the formation of the new community in Derry at this time, and such the sort of agents employed in the work, according to the scheme contrived by the foreign influenced party, and promulgated for the use of the province of Armagh in particular, in the titular conference of Drogheda, which has been already described. Similar proceedings were no doubt going on throughout other parts of the country, according as circumstances allowed. But although the treasonable and seditious doctrine propagated by these newly authorized teachers made it both justifiable and necessary for the govern-

ment to interfere, to restrain a system of teaching so full of danger to the peace and good order of society, still one cannot but regret, in reading the above extracts from Bishop Downham's report, to find the spiritual pastor of a diocese apparently so familiar with the carnal weapons of the civil power, and so much dependent on them for suppressing error, and inculcating the better principles of the pure and gentle gospel of peace.

A. D. 1622.

The bishop, it seems, was very indignant, as well he might be, at finding the people of his diocese misled by such guides as he describes. But no reasonable reader, who has any knowledge of the circumstances of the country at that time, will be tempted to suppose that the description given by him of their characters and condition was an unfounded portraiture, suggested by prejudice and passion. For it agrees only too well with accounts furnished to us by other authors, and even by the strictest Roman Catholics, of the sort of agents who then under foreign influence, were busily engaged in promoting the division, misery, and ruin of the Irish Church, for the sake of securing the success of their own illjudged, and too often base and heartless, purposes and schemes. That very Peter Lombard, of whom O'Sullivan speaks as being primate of Ireland at the time when he wrote, gives us an exceedingly curious descrip-

Downham's account of the titular clergy corroborated from Romish authorities.

A. D. 1622.

tion of the mischievous intercourse which by means of such persons, was then kept up between this country and Rome. Lombard himself was resident in the latter city for many years, and at length ended his days there in A. D. 1626. He was domestic chaplain and private secretary to Pope Clement VIII., and a maintainer of the pope's title to temporal power over Ireland; and yet, as if attempting to throw some part of the disgrace and blame of these transactions off the higher authorities, at least, of his Church, he complains grievously of the mischief caused by the extreme prevalence of foreign influence over this land, and confesses with shame and indignation that those Irish clergymen who flocked to Rome to obtain mitres and benefices in Ireland, were a disgrace to his country.

Peter Lombard's description of some of them.

"They are," says he, "of the very vilest classes of our people; men who obtain preferment by every species of low cunning, drivelling sycophancy, and hypocrisy. They come carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands, over Alps and Appennines, *illotis pedibus*, on pretence of persecution, or of pilgrimage to Rome, from the most barbarous parts of Ireland, ignorant, clownish, vile fellows, whose manners are utterly disgusting to all who see them, from their base servility and uncouthness of garb and ad-

dress. When they arrive in Rome, they do not employ themselves in learning, but pass their days in scheming amongst each other, how they may obtain bulls of presentation to livings and preferments at home; and as soon as they succeed in obtaining a title to a benefice, they run back to Ireland, commence a lawsuit for possession, in virtue of the briefs obtained at Rome, and having finally succeeded, after a scandalous litigation, instead of attending their dioceses, they travel into Spain, France, and Germany, on pretence of persecution at home; and their whole study consists in soliciting pensions from those foreign courts, to enable them forsooth to live abroad on a footing of grandeur suitable to the episcopal dignity which they have obtained by sycophancy, intriguing, and adulation. This is extremely prejudicial to our country, and disgraceful to us in foreign parts, as well as disgusting to our own [R] Catholic nobility at home; because those bishops are appointed without any regard to the elections or recommendations of our gentry or clergy, but against the express desire of both.*

And yet, high-minded as may appear the expressions of this writer, what after all was he

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Lombard himself, &c., mere agents of foreign powers.

* Petri Lombardi "*Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*," p. 296. Lovan. 1622. This production was dedicated to Pope Clement VIII. For more of Lombard, see Appendix No. xxvi. *inf.*

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himself, and what were his fellows, but tools and agents, educated, employed, and maintained by foreign powers, and under their influence, to serve their own political ends and purposes, to the detriment and ruin of Ireland and her Church. Peter Lombard, for instance, nominally archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, lived and died an absentee from the country with which he claimed such a connection, and employed by the bishop of Rome as one of his officials. David Carney, titular archbishop of Cashel at the same period, was maintained by his majesty the king of Spain with 1000 crowns yearly.* Eugene, or Owen M'Mahon, cotemporary titular prelate of Dublin, "was bred in Salamanca by his majesty's appointment;" and Florence O'Melconry, or Conroy, who then assumed, by

* See the *Brief Relation of Ireland* (in the MS. E. 3, 8 Lib. T.C.D.) attributed to Philip O'Sullivan, and supposed to have been presented by him to the king of Spain, about A.D. 1618. In this tract the author enumerating and classifying the different races then to be met with in Ireland, and giving lists of the most eminent individuals belonging to each, makes the following mention of this titular archbishop Kearney:—

"No where can we find place among the above names for Don David Carney, [titular] archbishop of Cashel, nor for Archer, of the society [of Jesuits], for the archbishop being intertayned by his majesty, with allowance of 1000 crowns yearly, and descending by right line from the ancient Irish, notwithstanding having somewhat of the English blood, and not being a divine but a canonist, and guided by the fathers of the society, his kinsmen is of an Englished condition." *fo. 51 bis.*

After Owen MacMahon, &c., we read, *fo. 50, ib.*, "Don Florence Conroy, [titular] archbishop of Tuam, in Ireland, intertayned by his majesty in the states of Flanders." See also App. lxi. *inf.*

like authority, the title of the archdiocese of Tuam, was, like Lombard, an absentee, maintained by the king of Spain in the states of Flanders; being unable, as O'Sullivan says, to live safely in Ireland, by reason of the English. Why so, it does not appear; as the titular prelates of Dublin and Cashel, who were nearer to the centre of government, were not hindered, as we have seen, by its influence, from the exercise of their officious labours.

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You may possibly, good reader, have thought it strange and unaccountable, how such "low, vile, clownish, ignorant, hypocritical, barbarous, disgusting, and scheming fellows," as Lombard mentions, could have possessed so much influence at Rome, and in other foreign courts, as to succeed in securing bulls entitling them to livings, bishoprics, and other preferments in Ireland, with pensions from those foreign powers: especially when there must have been on the other hand the influence of such superior minds as those of Lombard, and the "Catholic nobility," of whom he speaks, to resist and oppose their applications. But you will observe, that as we read of Carney, the titular of Cashel, that he had "somewhat of the English blood in him;" so Lombard's name is of itself sufficient to indicate that his race was not purely of the regular old Irish stock. And his complaints may there-

A remarkable feature in Lombard's description of the titular prelates noticed.

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fore be regarded as in part a kind of continuation of those feuds, which, in the earlier days of papal and English sway over this country, had so often manifested themselves between the ecclesiastics of the rival races. The "vile and clownish fellows," (O'Melrian and O'Melconry?) were evidently of the old Irish blood, preserved in its purity, in "the most barbarous parts" of the island. The Spanish and Roman policy of Lombard's day was to conciliate those once despised unfortunates, and therefore their applications, however "disgusting" and ridiculous, to the pope or his domestic chaplain, were not to be repulsed: while, at the same time, the jealousy of the opposite faction was to be allayed by a due and cordial attention to the merits of those belonging to it, who were found after all the best and most effective, as well as the most trustworthy servants of the Roman court, in its plans for the organizing of a Romish party in this country.

The abuse
of foreign
influence,
complained
of by Rd.
Stanishurst.

The matters complained of by Lombard were not entirely new, or of very recent origin, when he wrote. Forty years before, another eminent Romanist, Richard Stanishurst, uncle to Archbishop Ussher, had expressed himself in terms precisely similar, only somewhat more at large. It is needless to insert his description here in full, but one sentence at least is so curious, that it would be improper to omit it:—"And these

wearisome petitions to the pope," says Stan-
hurst, "are now-a-days becoming so common,
that at present it is actually growing into a
proverbial habit with the people of Rome, when-
ever they meet with any Irish beggar, to ac-
cost him with this facetious little question :—
'Well, good Sir, have you come to look for a
bishopric.' " *

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Having glanced thus rapidly over the most
striking features of our Church history, from
the age of St. Patrick to the days of the British
Reformation, it is not our intention here to con-
tinue the subject down to any more modern
times. To treat of the matter to the consum-
mation of that unhappy schism, which has now
for centuries disturbed the peace of this land,
was all that was intended in the present work :
and so much has been thus far, imperfectly no
doubt, yet, it is hoped, not uselessly, accom-
plished. For we have now seen how, under
the auspices of the titular prelates, Lombard,
O'Carney, M'Mahon, and Conroy, and in ac-
cordance with the plan promulgated in the
Drogheda conference of 1614,† the first formal
organization of the new Roman community,
with its new episcopacy, priesthood, and officials,
its new political association, rent, and other

Close of the
work at this
period of our
history.

* Ric. Stanhurst *de Rebus in Hib. gentis*, page 8. Antwerp, 1584.

† P. 324. seqq. sup.

A. D. 1622.

contributions and impositions, was contrived, ordered, and established in this ill-fated land. To chronicle the events of subsequent times, and trace the after history of the Irish Church, and the afflicting circumstances connected with, and often arising out of, the existence of the two conflicting ecclesiastical systems in the country, shall be left for some other hand. For the more learned reader of larger books, the work has been already accomplished in suitable size and form ; providing us with an interesting, but very painful and humbling recital of the sins and sufferings of our forefathers in this land ; including alike those who professed to follow the reformed faith, and those who continued in their adherence to the supremacy of Rome ; a recital which must oblige every candid reader, of whatsoever creed or party, to acknowledge that we, of all parties and of all classes, have been verily guilty of much unfaithfulness to God, much dishonour to the name of our Saviour, much injury and many calamities to His Church and people. The unholy, corrupt, and interested motives which have too often directed the policy of our English rulers in the choice of particular episcopal appointments ; the equally unholy influences from Rome, which have been prolific of religious error, discontent, and sedition among the people ; the worldliness of bishops ; the care-

A. D. 1622.

lessness of the clergy; the indifference of the gentry to spiritual religion, and the welfare and interests of the Church; the guilty covetousness and ambition of landed proprietors, ready to make every sacrifice to the mammon of the world, and the quiet enjoyment of their gains, little or none to religion or to God; exterminating in many instances by a short-sighted and reckless policy, a protestant tenantry, and promoting, as they have done, that frightful competition for land, which has led to such misery and ruin, "land to the highest bidder, no matter who or what he was, or by what means the price was to be wrung;" and as the natural fruits of all this, deadly apathy and irreligion among the people in general:—such are some of the dark features which mar the aspect of the history of religion in this country in bygone times. And the one who will venture to acquit his own class or party, whichever it be, of their share of guilt, will only proclaim to the world his own ignorance, or his own self-righteousness.

Still in the mercy of God, the Irish Church, though chastened, suffering, and afflicted, has not yet been cast off: though mutilated and plundered, she still survives: nay more, a refreshing influence from on high has begun, we may humbly trust, in recent years, to increase her life and health. And although even now her earthly

Prospects of
the Church
of Ireland.

A. D. 1622.

prospects be dark, and her enemies powerful; although even now she sees the great majority of her children seduced to follow the misleadings of the Italian bishop, and to receive his superstitions in place of her own holy and scriptural doctrines; yet she knows that she is even now in the hands of Him whose Providence has continued her existence for fourteen hundred years; in whom she also trusts that He will yet continue to protect her. And even though her temporal comforts may be reduced much lower, and the injuries which infidel and antichristian influence in the state have been heaping on her, should terminate in total sacrilege of her property and subversion of her establishment, she would still have the same heavenly claims on the spiritual allegiance of the Irish people: nay even though the professed protection of the state were to be changed into open persecution of her members. For the tie that binds them to her depends not on the will of man, nor on the uncertain sunshine of earthly prosperity, but on the circumstance that she is a sound branch of the true Catholic Church of the living God, planted among us by his gracious ordinance, to lead all the people of our land to the knowledge of His will and faith in Him. And it may yet perhaps be her lot, to see those who have hitherto been her enemies, persecutors, and slanderers,

hereafter brought home again to her fold, and united with her in holy communion and fellowship of Christian love: yea, and if necessity should so require it, in determined opposition to the usurpations of encroaching foreigners—just as in England the Saxons of old, while in their heathen state, had persecuted the ancient British Christians, and had maintained the quarrel and oppressed them still even after they had become Christians of the communion of Rome; but subsequently in the days of Reformation having become one body with them, with them co-operated in abolishing the tyranny and superstitions wherewith they had been so long enchained.

A. D. 1622.

From a general review of all that precedes we may see, that from the days of St. Patrick to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there was no second Church formed in Ireland. During that period there was not as now, a Church of Ireland, and a Church of Rome here also: but the ancient Catholic Church of Ireland alone occupied all the ground. This Church becoming gradually tinctured with the prevailing superstition of the middle ages, was in the twelfth century reduced into subjection to the bishop of Rome, the chief patron of them, and at the same time to the political power of his great friends and agents in this work, the Anglo-Norman princes of Britain.

General
summary
of the pre-
ceding his-
tory.

A. D. 1622.

Thenceforward, (*i. e.* from the twelfth century,) English influence and English names began to have an undue and unfortunate prevalence in the Irish Church. But at length, when the prelates of this Church, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, agreed in discarding the power of the pope and his doctrines also, it was deemed necessary by those who were in love with the old superstitions and former corruptions to found a new Church here; which they accordingly did as we have seen, in the reign of King James I., about 1200 years after the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland; and thus, a part of the people separating themselves from the ancient Church and ancient line of bishops, placed themselves under the patronage and guidance of the bishop of Rome, and those other bishops ordained in foreign countries and sent over hither by his authority; none of whom could ever pretend to trace their ordinations to the ancient Church of Ireland. So much for the boasted antiquity of the present Roman Catholic Church of this country.

All effects of
English in-
fluence.

Whatever benefits may have accrued at any time to the Irish Church and realm from the acts of our English rulers, or more commonly from the exertions of individuals of that nation influenced by a pious zeal for doing good, (which our gratitude and respect for the memory of those individuals will not permit us to gainsay or deny)

it is only too certain that such occasional benefits have been heavily outweighed by the many and long continued injuries inflicted on our people, both in their temporal and spiritual concerns, by means of their connection with the inhabitants of the adjoining isle. To set forth at any length our reasons for such a conviction would be out of place here, as involving matter too extensive for the narrow limits of the present volume, and in its nature too much of a political character for a work relating exclusively, (as far as possible) to our ecclesiastical history. Enough however will have been found even in the preceding pages to justify our view of the subject; were it only in the plain historic statements which shew how entirely we owe to the proceedings of the princes and people of England, the introduction into Ireland of the fatal and oppressive yoke of Romish supremacy, with all its train of attendant evils.

A. D. 1622.

One observation more however, connected with this particular, before we close. The undue and excessive prevalence of English influence, and an English spirit among us, does indeed appear to have been undoubtedly prejudicial to the interests of the Reformed Irish Church. The parliamentary designation of "the United Church of England and Ireland" would seem, at least in the minds of many, to have almost

Mischievous
abuse of the
phrase
"Church
of England"
noticed.

A. D. 1622.

The
"Church
of England"
neither mother nor
mistress,
but sister,
to that of
Ireland.

wholly swallowed up our individuality ; and that to such an extent, that many Irishmen in protesting against the usurpation and errors of the Church of Rome, seem to have got into a habit of thinking of themselves, and speaking of themselves as members of the "Church of England," although in reality they are, properly speaking, no more that, than members of the Church of India, or Nova Scotia, or Gibraltar, or New Zealand. Cherishing the tie which binds us together, in Church fellowship and godly communion, with the flock of our Saviour Christ in England, may we of both islands, love one another more warmly, pray for one another more constantly, bear one another's burdens more patiently, help one another more effectually in the service of the Lord, and in labours for His Name's sake. But still, keep we all the while in mind, that we of this isle, are not, by any right, subject to the authority of the Church of England : that the relationship existing is not one between mistress and hand-maid, nor yet between mother and daughter, but that of sisters. And although the Church of the other isle may be in actual possession of many of the prerogatives of an elder sister ; nay, altogether she were even able to prove her baptismal certificate to be of earlier date than ours ; this we are to recollect does not bind our consciences by any means to obey and follow her

dictates in all things. Be it hers to rest content with sisterly affection and love in the Lord, without any unreasonable or contentious desire to have us agree in all our tastes and habits: and be it ours to display conduct and behaviour more and more worthy of such as are "children, not of a bondwoman, but of a free." For the ecclesiastical supremacy of the English crown over our branch of the Church Catholic militates not so against its spiritual independence, as to make it in the least subject to the Church of England or to its primate. The archbishops of Armagh and of Canterbury, alike recognizing the queen as their supreme head on earth by divine right, are, of right, alike independent in their spiritual offices of any other superior authority, except that of Him, who is "head over all things to the Church" universal.

A. D. 1622.

When the agreement of the two Churches in doctrine had been settled in the Convocation of 1634, by the reception of the English Articles in Ireland, it was further proposed by Bramhall, the famous English bishop of Derry, that the canons also of England might be adopted for the use of the Irish Church; that so both might have the same rule of government as well as of belief. Whereupon,* "an objection to this

Archbishop
Ussher's
views on
this matter,
as expressed
by him in
the Convo-
cation of
A. D. 1634.

* Mant, l. 495, 496, and Carte's *Life of Ormond*, there cited.

A. D. 1622.

proposal was made with great earnestness by the Lord Primate, [Archbishop Ussher,] that it would appear to be the betraying of the privileges of a national Church; that it might lead to placing the Church of England in a state of absolute superintendence and dominion over that of Ireland; that it was convenient for some discrepancy to appear, if it were but to declare the free agency of the Church of Ireland, and to express her sense of rites and ceremonies, that there is no necessity of the same in all Churches, which are independent of each other, and that different canons and modes might coexist with the same faith, charity, and communion. By these and similar arguments" we are informed that "the Lord Primate prevailed with the Convocation, in which the prepossessions of many of its members inclined them to a favourable reception of his reasonings." But whatever may have been the prepossessions which then gave them a distaste for those English canons, the motive assigned by the learned primate was good and sufficient for his cause, and it is one worthy of serious and attentive consideration even in these recent times, and after the partial alterations in our ecclesiastical polity and relations with England which have been since introduced. It may not be even yet too late to look for the correction of the evils produced by the mis-

chievous effects of bad political influences upon our spiritual interests in bygone days. A. D. 1692.

Inclining, as our countrymen do in this age, to a spirit of extreme nationality, accompanied with increasing light and knowledge of their own past history,—and at the same time in their national character too religiously disposed, too warm-hearted, too sensible, for the cold sophisms of infidelity, may we not be permitted to indulge a hope, that ere long, when their thoughts revert more fully to contemplate the ancient days of their country's natural and spiritual freedom, they may at length be brought to regard with kindlier affection the true representative and successor of their own old Church of Ireland, and the scriptural doctrines and godly forms of religious worship which she proposes for their adoption. May we not hope that they will at length learn to consider more wisely the nature of that new communion into which they have in these latter ages incorporated themselves, and of that older kindred system indebted for its first insinuation into the country to Danish and Norman policy, and afterwards extended and promoted in Ireland by the influence of the Pale, in the twelfth and following centuries. The name of the *Church of England* is indeed connected in their minds with many thoughts of old national ill-feeling, and the mention of it

Some hope of good to the Church in Ireland, from the present state of national feeling.

A. D. 1622. may only help to aggravate religious contentions which are serious enough of themselves. But we of the *Church of Ireland* can afford to be more national than their own leaders, more entirely Irish ; and notwithstanding the unfortunate excess of English blood and English influence, which has now for nearly seven centuries been more or less prevalent among us, yet after all, *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores !*

The Church
the natural
mediator
of peace be-
tween the
English
people and
the Irish.

Let levellers, and democrats, and votaries of anarchy assail the establishment as they may : let them reduce all systems of religious truth and error to such equality as they can conceive in this our land, still after all the strong influence of Scriptural truth, (if only we hold that firmly,) appealing from the elevated vantage ground of superior antiquity, to the national and patriotic feelings of our countrymen, will ever give to the Church of Ireland a godly rank and pre-eminence over every rival denomination, such as politicians may strive to subvert in vain. If ever the people of this country are again to be united in the bonds of cordial amity and of a common faith, with the inhabitants of Christian England, the Church of Ireland is undoubtedly the natural mediator through whose instrumentality such a reconciliation must take place. Statesmen, or those who are called so, may indeed perhaps endeavour to effect the end, either

independently of her influence, or by the total sacrificing of her interests: but in what issue such a course is likely to result,—whether in any benefits or advantages to either country, or rather, in the continuance and increase of dissension and misery in this part of the British empire, the experience of the past is alone fully sufficient to indicate. To the government of England, however it may wrong or injure us, may we ever be dutifully subject in godly loyalty and Christian obedience; but yet so as to love nor cherish no external influence, whether of Rome or England, in the Church of our native isle: as remembering that some of her brightest and happiest days were those, when in the Providence of Almighty God, she was permitted to enjoy independence of all foreign, whether spiritual or temporal, control.

A. D. 1622.

When we compare the miserable state of Ireland in latter days with her condition in those times of her early saints, and reflect on the period when she was eminent and illustrious among the nations of Europe, and highly respected and esteemed in foreign lands for her advancement in the knowledge of the blessed Word of God, and the ability with which her sons instructed others in it, we may well consider, whether her exaltation at that time was not agreeable to the sense of that Scripture in which God tells us,

Contrast between the present condition of Ireland and her state in the days of old.

A. D. 1622.

"Them that honour me I will honour;" or whether her degraded position in more recent times, when the Holy Scriptures are neglected and hated by so many of her people, be not in keeping with the remainder of the verse, *"They that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."**

A parting word in closing the subject, from the writer to the reader.

And now, gentle reader, thus far have I endeavoured to collect together into small compass, for your use, such of the principal facts of our Church history as appeared most worthy of notice, for being well authenticated, important, and interesting. And if my humble efforts be so successful as to prove of any service in your studies, or save you from the trouble or expense of consulting larger, or more costly, or otherwise less accessible works, remember, of your goodness, that this has not been accomplished without the expenditure of many a day and week, and even years, of patient anxiety and labour, unaccompanied by hope or prospect of much earthly remuneration. It is indeed an instructive and edifying occupation, to be engaged in studying the lives of eminent saints of God, when ably, honestly, and piously composed; it is a good and holy work to record their histories; for the Scripture says, that "The righteous

* 1 Sam. ii. 30.

A. D. 1622.

shall be had in everlasting remembrance," and again, that "The memory of the just is blessed;" and we may well delight in cherishing the recollection of those worthies of olden time, by whom the Church of God was planted here and watered, and seeking to imitate their single-minded zeal and devotedness to the service of their heavenly Master; that we may thus be stirred up more heartily to bless God's holy name for all his servants departed this life in His faith and fear, and to beseech Him to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of His heavenly kingdom. It is also undoubtedly a necessary and useful work to provide for general readers a fair and sufficient account of the affairs and circumstances of the Church to which they belong, and its treatment from friends and enemies in bygone ages. But however necessary and profitable such a work may be, and however it may need to be executed by a sincere friend of the Church and of her faith, it seems to have, in common with much study of other sorts, a tendency to produce, not only "weariness of the flesh," but also, dryness and poverty of spirit, feebleness of religious vitality in the heart, and other injuries akin to these—injuries naturally resulting from a want of those active impulses of Christian life which are more quick-

A. D. 1622.

ened and strengthened by visiting among the poor and suffering, waiting by the beds of the sick and languid, ministering to their temporal and spiritual relief, conversing with them on death, and salvation, and eternal life, and finally witnessing the results of carelessness and unbelief, as exhibited in the dying hour of the followers of the world and of sin, and the contrast furnished thereto by the patience and faith of the saints of God, in traversing the dark valley, supported by the "rod and staff" of their heavenly Comforter.

Amid such scenes might have been spent, with more of personal benefit and improvement, but less, it is hoped, of general utility, some of the hours devoted to the compilation of this work; from which therefore, kind Christian reader, if you have received any benefit or help, grudge not a prayer to the throne of grace, for him who has been the means of contributing this trifle. And if you be a minister of Christ yourself, and unable to devote much time to studies such as this, (although interested in them, and feeling their importance,) but are rather constantly occupied in more active and enlivening work in your Master's service, and among His people, remember him who has been willing to serve you in the camp as a hewer of wood and drawer of water; make mention in

your hearty supplications of his many wants, A. D. 1622.
 and ask that he may be refreshed with the
 graces of the Good Spirit from on high, so as
 not to be barren or unfruitful in any good word
 or work ; and in particular, that these volumes
 now brought to their conclusion, may be accom-
 panied by that blessing which alone can render
 them the honoured instrument of any little
 usefulness in the Church of God, that by promot-
 ing truth only and peace, they may help
 to minister unto godly edifying,
 and thus prove indeed,
 a labour not in
 vain in the
 Lord.

Finished at
 Cavanreagh, in the Six Towns,
 in the Parish of Ballynascreen, and in the Diocese of Derry,
 The 22nd of February, 1847.

The transcribing, with revisions, completed Jan. 4, 1848.
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Αοφα ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεῷ.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

OF THE CHARGE OF SCHISM BROUGHT AGAINST THE IRISH CHURCH
OF THE SIXTH CENTURY, BY CARDINAL BARONIUS.

THE following are the passages from the *Ecclesiastical Annals* of Cardinal Baronius, referred to in Book II., Ch. iii. (Vol. I., p. 136, sup.) The first is introduced at A.D. 566, and is headed in the original work with this title—
“THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND SCHISMATICS:”—

“But through the malice of the demon of evil it came to pass, that at this period, while the Church of France was glittering with so many bright luminaries, the Church in Ireland which had so far been thriving well, became overspread with thick darkness, having made shipwreck, in consequence of not following the bark of Peter, which takes the lead of all, pointing out the road towards the haven of salvation; for desiring to appear more righteous than others, and more wise than became her, she is unknowingly led astray by the schismatical faction. For a false report having reached them, through the dishonesty of these schismatics, stating that the Fifth Synod had transgressed against the holy Council of Chalcedon (as if by the condemnation of the Three Chapters it had condemned at the same time the acts of

Statement
of Baronius
charging
the Irish
with schism
in A. D. 556.

that synod;) all the bishops that were in Ireland rose up with one accord in the most determined spirit of zeal for the defence of the Three Chapters. And they were guilty moreover of this further wickedness, that when they had perceived the Roman Church to be equally determined in condemning the Three Chapters, and strengthening the Fifth Synod by her adhesion, they at once separated from her, and joined themselves with the rest of the schismatics that were in Italy, or Africa, or other places, puffed up with the vain conceit that by defending the acts of the Council of Chalcedon they were making a stand in support of the Catholic faith. So these unhappy, misguided people, influenced by a kind of show of apparent righteousness in their cause, and having a zeal, though not such as was according to knowledge, (since they dwelt in a very remote part of the world where they could not have been very easily admonished or corrected, even independently of those additional embarrassments which are usually connected with wars, pestilence, and famine,) continued in that unfortunate condition for a length of time; entertaining feelings of pity towards those who followed the Fifth Synod, as for persons that were gone astray from the right road of the faith; so far were they from being able to comprehend that it was they themselves who were under the delusion of errors. Yea and they cling to those errors the more obstinately, from conceiving the idea that whatever Italy was suffering from the troubles of war, famine, or pestilence, all such misfortunes had befallen her in consequence of her having acted as the champion of the Fifth Synod against the Council of Chalcedon. And in this most unhappy position they continued ever to the time of pope S. Gregory, that is, to the close of this century; when these bishops aforesaid wrote a letter of inquiry about the matters in question to the said Gregory, knowing him to be a friend of God, and eminent

for holiness. As to the answer which Gregory sent them in return, of that we shall make mention in the proper place. The letter itself, from which we have collected these circumstances, is still extant."—(Vid. *Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. 7, p. 557. Antw. 1658.)

Thus far Baronius in that place, from whose narrative Archbishop Ussher concludes "that the bishops of Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their sides, they preferred the judgment of other Churches before it"—a conclusion true and certain enough, yet gathered in this instance, as we shall see, from premises not the most indubitable or satisfactory.

Archbishop Ussher's note on the above. *Religion of Ancient Irish*, ch. viii.

As to the fact that the bishops above-mentioned applied afterwards for counsel to Pope Gregory, the words of Baronius himself are sufficient to suggest to us why they did so; not because they considered the bishop of Rome possessed of authority for regulating with his Church the doctrine of all Christians in the world, but because they regarded him as a worthy counsellor, not only for his high station in the Church, but especially on account of his being one whom they knew to be eminent for holiness and the love of God. This, however, by the way. It may be added, that those bishops, in writing to Gregory, did not exhibit a

On what grounds the bishops in question applied to Gregory for counsel.

Style of his
reply to
them.

spirit of submission to his pontifical authority, but rather adopted such a tone as indicated that they valued indeed his opinion, and would give it due consideration; yet not so as to feel themselves constrained to adopt it, unless it should commend itself to their own judgment. This appears plainly from the answer which Gregory returned them in A.D. 592. He sends them a book on the subject at issue, which he thinks ought to be sufficient to convince them that they were in the wrong, and remarks on it in his letter:—"If after the reading of this book, you will persist in holding the same opinions that you now entertain, you show beyond a doubt that you are giving yourselves to be ruled, not by reason, but by obstinacy."

The second passage of Baronius referred to in the text (*ad an.* 604) occurs at p. 193 of tom. 8, (Antwerpizæ, 1600,) and is as follows. After giving (from Bede) the account of Laurentius' ministerial exertions, to be found at p. 138 of the present work, as far as the commencement of the letter there quoted, he proceeds to say (under the heading, "SCHISMATICS PUNISHED BY GOD, *Jer.* 5):—

Additional
observations
of Baronius
relative to
the "schis-

"It is quite plain that the Scots also [*i. e.* the Irish] were just in like manner tinged with the same dark dye of schism as the Britons, and guilty like them of separation from the Church of Rome. And for this reason

they also were visited by God with the same vengeance as came upon the Britons, in being given up for a prey to those inhuman savages, the Angles and the Saxons, according to that prediction of Jeremiah to Israel—*'Behold I will bring upon you a nation from afar, a mighty nation;'* and lower down, *'And if ye shall say why hath the Lord our God done all this unto us, thou shalt say unto them, Like as ye have forsaken me, and served a strange God in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours,'* inasmuch as it will be in the possession of strangers. It is plain that all schismatics are convicted in a sense of worshipping strange gods, for this reason, that the one God is not to be rightly worshipped except in the one Church; from which whosoever goeth astray, he is detected in revolting to strangers; according to that word of Samuel, *'Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as the iniquity of idolatry.'* Surely if any man of understanding were to cast his eyes around, as from some lofty eminence, over the entire surface of the world, he would see that for this one cause above all others, Christian states have been given up to the dominion of barbarians; viz. for their having, in the first instance, forsaken the Church. Thus was it the fate of the Africans to be delivered up to the Vandals, when in the obstinacy of their spirits they refused communion with the Catholic Church of the whole world; thus was it the lot of the Spaniards to fall into the hands of the Saracens, according to the account which will be found in the end of this volume. Thus it appears also to have happened to all the nations of the east, when after their revolt from the communion of the Catholic Church, they were given up to the oppressive tyranny of barbarous invaders.

matrical"
position of
the Irish
toward
Laurence of
Canterbury.
A. D. 609.
Ch. v., vs.
15, 19.

1 Sam. xv.
23.

"Now as to the purport of the communication addressed to these people by Bishop Laurentius and his brethren, we can gather it from the part of his letter cited by Laurence's letter

Bede, to the following effect:—‘To our lords and most dear brethren’ . . . &c. &c. [as at pp. 138, 139, sup., to the words] ‘no not so much as in the same lodging where we were eating.’ Thus far Bede recites of this letter, to show that the Britons as well as the Scots had been, previously to that time, separated from the Catholic Church.

an indication of the pains taken by the Saxon priests to bring the Irish, &c., to conformity with Rome.

“But as for the labours which must have been endured by these priests, few in number as they were, who came as missionaries from Rome, it is almost impossible to form a correct estimate of their number and magnitude; considering that they had not only to work hard by day and by night for the conversion of the Angles, an exceedingly numerous people, from the idol-worship of their fathers, and to labour to win them over to the true religion; but also to toil might and main for the purpose of extricating the Britons and Scots from their schism, and reconciling them to the Catholic Church.”

This latter extract from Baronius requires no comment, being sufficiently illustrated by its connection with the matter contained in the text of this work. On the former passage, however, some additional observations are necessary, for the sake of historical truth and clearness, in this place.

Baronius probably wrong in making the Irish bishops have any concern with the controversy of the Three Chapters.

The opinion of the Cardinal, that the bishops of Ireland entered with schismatical warmth into the controversy about the Three Chapters, appears to be altogether erroneous. It rests on the supposition that the letter of Pope Gregory, which he refers to, was intended for the bishops of Ireland; but this view of the matter, although

received by Ussher, Fleury, Pagi, and other learned authorities, appears to be contrary to the fact. For the letter in question, which in the old editions of Gregory's works (where it is marked as Ep. 36 of the second Book of the Register,) has the heading, *Gregory to all the bishops in Ireland*, appears to have received this title without any proper authority; and accordingly, in the Benedictine Edition (where it is *Ep. 51, ib.*) the heading is altered to the following form, *Gregory to all bishops, on the subject of the Three Chapters*. That this inscription, however, is essentially nonsensical, will appear even from a perusal of the letter itself. But the conjecture of some that the bishops to whom it was in reality addressed were those of *Istria*, seems probable enough. The circumstances referred to in it do not agree with those of the Irish Christians of that age; for they to whom it was written were suffering persecution, as it seems, about the controversy then going on, whereas none of our ancient documents make the least allusion even to its existence in Ireland. "Whatever opinion St. Columbanus entertained concerning the Three Chapters was formed by him in consequence, not of what he had heard or seen in Ireland, but of the ferment that agitated the north of Italy, relatively to this controversy;" at least, so says Dr. Lanigan, and appa-

The Istrian
bishops
more likely
to be in-
tended by
St. Gregory

rently with reason. (See his *Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 293.)

What the
Thren
Chapters
were.

What the Three Chapters were, we are informed in the following words of the Fifth General Council (*Collat.* 8,) "We anathematize the aforesaid Three Chapters, that is, Theodore of Mopsuestia with his impious writings, and the ungodly compositions of Theodoret, and the ungodly letter that goes under the name of Ibas, and all who defend them," &c. (Vid. *Opp. S. Greg.*, Reg. Ep. Lib. ii. Ind. x. coll. 614, 615, *not. d. Jus. Primatiale Armacanum . . . assertum per H. A. M. T. H. P.* 1728, pp. 124, nn. 207-209, &c. &c.)

No. II.

ST. COLUMBANUS'S FAMOUS EPISTLE TO POPE BONIFACE IV., ON THE SUBJECT OF THE THREE CHAPTERS.

The Epistle
of St. Co-
lumbanus
to P. Boni-
face IV.,
never before
Englished.

N.B.—The following valuable relic of antiquity is undoubtedly one of the most important records in existence, connected with the circumstances of the Irish Church at the time when it was written, or we might perhaps say, with those of any period of its early history. Yet it has never, I suppose, been read in an English translation;—a circumstance, after all, not so much

to be wondered at, seeing that the Latin is in some places so exceedingly difficult and obscure that it is quite impossible to determine the sense of the writer with any degree of certainty. This arises from the freedom of speech, volubility of expression, and highly figurative language made use of by Columbanus in those places, into which he also introduces many words of impure Latinity, common perhaps in his day, but not occurring in the compositions of more classical writers. However, as I have given copious extracts from this epistle, and yet not all that may be interesting to the general student, (for the whole will repay a perusal,) I have thought it as well to give the document in this place in full, especially as there are some passages which are, or may appear, favourable to the enemies of our ancient ecclesiastical independence; and it is as well to avoid all appearance of dealing unfairly with such a record, or setting forth a garbled view of the sentiments which it contains.

A reason
why, sug-
gested.

The passages which are difficult of translation, and for that reason obscure or ambiguous in any degree, I have rendered as nearly as I could from conjecture, where able to do no better. Such passages I have enclosed in brackets, with asterisks [*thus*]. They might have been left out altogether (for the reader will easily see that they are neither very interesting nor of much

The system
of render-
ing some
parts here
adopted.
explained.

importance to the general subject,) but that it seemed likely to prove more satisfactory that nothing, so far as was possible, should be omitted from such a document. The words inclosed in simple brackets [thus] have been inserted in the usual manner, to complete the sense, and as being for the most part implied in the original. And the marginal references to the Scripture texts alluded to in the letter will be found to exhibit, in an interesting light, the writer's general acquaintance with the sacred Word of God, and his mode of applying its contents in a controversy such as that herein referred to. The Epistle itself is as follows :—

The opening address to Boniface.

“To the most honoured head of all the Churches of all Europe, that eminently exalted prelate, that pastor of pastors, that most reverend watchman, that specially beloved pope [who at present fills the office]; to [a personage] the most dignified one the most lowly [here] presumes to write; to him of highest rank one that is least of all; a rustic to an accomplished citizen; a stammerer to a master of eloquence; the last to him who is first; a stranger to the homeborn; a poor humble individual to the mighty potentate; [yea] strange [as it may be] to tell—a thing unprecedented—a ‘*rara avis*,’ [it is] poor Palumbus† [that presumes to write] to Father Boniface.

An objection to the writing of

“Which of our [*grave seniors*] will vouchsafe to lend an ear? Who [is there among them that] will not at once exclaim, ‘What presumptuous, talkative being

† Vid. p. 307, note, sup.

is this that ventures, uninvited, to write in such a strain? — What [**criticising spirit**] will refrain from breaking out immediately into that old expression of reproof, which the Hebrew that was doing a wrong to his brother made use of in reply to Moses, viz., ‘*Who made thee a ruler or a judge over us?*’

any such letter on the part of St. Columbanus anticipated.

Es. ii. 14.

“In answer to such an objector I would first observe, that it is no presumption [to adopt a course like this,] where it is plain that a necessity exists, for the sake of promoting the edification of the Church. And if he cavils at the person, [who offers these suggestions] let him consider, not, who I am that speak, but [rather,] what it is that I have to say. For why shall a Christian from another land observe silence, on a subject which has now for this long time past been affording matter of declamation to Arians nearer home? For *better are the wounds of a friend than the kisses of deceit from an enemy.* Others, exulting [over the mischief,] are detracting in secret. I with pain and sorrow shall give utterance to my observations in a public form; not however on the advantages which attract unprincipled peace-makers, but on the evils of the unhappy schism [at present existing in the Church.]

His apology for such interference.

Prov. xxvii. 6.

It is not then from vanity or self-opinion that I, poor humble being of the very meanest condition, presume thus to address myself to persons of such exalted rank. For it is in sorrow rather than in self-esteem, that I feel myself obliged to express to you, in such a tone of the deepest humility as befits me, that *the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you*, contending [as you are] on both sides. For I am pained, I confess, at the infamy [that attaches] to the chair of St. Peter. I know to be sure that the matter is one rather too high for me, and that at the very outset I shall, as they say, expose my face to the coals. But then, what [signifies] to me a face before men, where a necessity exists for

His motive, a godly zeal for the truth.

Rom. ii. 24.

Heb. xii. 1. making a display of zeal in defence of the faith? Before
See 1 Tim. God and his angels I shall not be confounded : to be con-
v. 21. founded before men is a glory, when it is in maintaining
 the cause of God. If I shall gain a favourable hearing,
 the benefit will be for all ; if contempt be what I earn,
 the wages shall [in that case] be for myself [alone.]

His purpose
 to use free-
 dom of
 speech, as
 an earnest
 friend of the
 Church.

"For it is as your friend, your disciple, your follower.
 not as an alien, that I shall speak ; and therefore shall I
 use freedom in my words, as [addressing myself] to our
 masters, and to [those that are] the governors and mys-
 tic helmsmen of the spiritual ship ; saying to them, keep
 a vigilant watch, for the sea is tempestuous, and its
 waves are lashed wildly by the furious winds ; nor is it
 merely the billows of the deep which bespeak impending
 peril [*high though they rise, and madly swelling from
 afar, to dash their foam o'er the frothy rocks of the
 rugged shore, thrusting on the vessel with fearful speed
 along the furrowed surge.*] But it is rather a hurri-
 cane of all the elements, gathering from all sides, and
 raging upon all sides, that [now] threatens the wreck-
 ing of the mystic vessel. Therefore it is that I, timid
 sailor [as I may be,] persevere in shouting thus aloud,
 [and saying,] 'keep a vigilant watch ; for the water has
 already gotten into the hold of the Church, and the ves-
 sel is in danger.'

The Irish
 ever follow-
 ers of Scrip-
 tural and
 Catholic
 truth.

For we Irish, dwelling [though we do] at the very end
 of the earth, are all of us disciples of SS. Peter and Paul,
 and of all the disciples who wrote the divine Canon [of the
 Holy Scriptures,] according to the [inspiration of the]
 Holy Ghost. We be men who receive nought beyond the
 doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles. There has been
 among us no Jew, nor heretic, nor schismatic. But the
 Catholic faith, as it was delivered at the first by you,
 that is to say, by the successors of the holy Apostles,* is
 still maintained among us with unshaken fidelity.

* The title of "Successors of the Apostles" was one commonly given

"On the strength of which considerations I have gathered confidence, and ventured, as having been provoked in a manner [to this act,] to rouse you against those who are maligning your party, and exclaiming against them as receivers of heretics, and giving them the name of schismatics, that my glorying, wherein I spake confidently in your defence, making reply to their objections, may not prove in vain; and that they may be confounded, and not we. For I promised [to that party] on your behalf, that the Church of Rome would never defend a heretic in opposition to the Catholic faith; a sentiment which it is [but] proper for disciples to entertain concerning their master. Receive then with friendly spirit and gracious ear the suggestions proposed by an act of presumption which I could not avoid. For whatever I shall put forth either useful or orthodox, shall be reckoned to your account; since the merit of the master is estimated from the proficiency of the scholars. Thus if the son shall have spoken with wisdom, the father will have occasion to rejoice; and the credit [in this case] will be yours, inasmuch as it is from you, as I have intimated, that the occasion of it has proceeded. The purity [of the stream] must be attributed, not to the channel, but to the source. If however either in this epistle, or in the other against Agrippa, who provoked me to take up my pen, you shall find any unseasonable expressions, prompted as it were by a zeal exceeding due bounds, attribute them [I pray you] to a want of judgment on my part, not to the workings of an overbearing spirit.

St. Columbanus further deprecates being regarded as of a contentious and arrogant spirit in writing this letter.

Prov. x. 1.

"Awake then to vigilance, for the sake of the Church's peace! Succour the sheep of your flock, excited to alarm as they now are, as through the terror of wolves,

He urges the pope to active exertion, in con-

in the earliest ages to the Bishops of the Church, as succeeding to such parts of the apostolic office as were capable of transmission to others, after the first Twelve.

sideration
of the alarm-
ing preva-
lence of he-
resy in Italy,
and the ex-
cited state
of feeling
existing
among Ca-
tholics.

and in their excessive trepidation [*driven in confusion to and fro,*] and afraid even of your own presence. So that in this state of uncertainty, some coming, some again retiring as they came, they are veering about, backwards and forwards, and are still a prey to fear. Sound then aloud [good] pope, the signal cry, the familiar call, of the true Shepherd; and stand between them and the wolves, that they may be divested of their alarms, and then at length recognise you as their shepherd indeed. For the people that I see [around me here] while supporting many heretics, are yet full of zeal, and are easily thrown into confusion like the affrighted sheep. And from such causes of terror they are but ill secured, seeing that Italy has been so infested with grievous wolves, that the destruction of all their whelps is a thing almost impossible, reared as they have been to such a monstrous growth in their native dens. [*Those dens may God extinguish, with the race of monsters reared in them, and his own flock may he nourish*] [and protect.] May he also put it into your heart to apply yourself with vigilance to your pastoral office, standing upon your watch day and night, [*and to keep a [constant] eye to that hazel rod, the [symbol of your office] that so you may be counted worthy to see it in a future day loaded, [like Aaron's rod] with abundant produce, on the arrival of that harvest time when the true fruits shall be gathered in.*]

Apostolic
faithfulness
the true
foundation
for claims
to apostolic
honour.

"In order then that you may not lack Apostolic honour, preserve the Apostolic Faith; confirm it by your testimony; support it with your pen; fortify it by [the decision of] a synod; so that none may be able, on rightful grounds, to resist your authority. Slight not this little word of advice offered by a stranger, from any feeling connected with your consciousness of being the teacher of him who is thus anxious on your behalf. The world is already verging to its close. The chief Shepherd is at

hand. Beware lest he find you negligent, and *beating your fellow-servants* with the stripes of a bad example, and *eating and drinking with the drunken*; lest you be overtaken by the consequences of such carelessness. For he that knoweth not, shall not be known. To be concerned for your own case is not sufficient for you, seeing that you have made yourself responsible for the charge over many. *For to whomsoever much is given, of him shall the more be required.*

S. Luke
xii. 46.

S. Matt. x.
33.

S. Luke
xii. 48.

"Be vigilant then I implore thee, O Pope, be vigilant; and again I say be vigilant! For it may be that there was a want of proper vigilance on the part of Vigilius, who is loudly exclaimed against as having been the first occasion of scandal, by those who are attaching blame to you. Be vigilant, first in defence of the faith; then in inculcating the works of faith, and in suppressing vices. For vigilance on your part will prove the salvation of many; as on the other hand, carelessness on your part will bring many to destruction. Let Isaiah send thee forth upon the mountain, *O thou that tellest good tidings to Sion!* Yea, let God, [speaking] by Isaiah, station thee, according to the interpretation of thy name, on the watch-tower of true contemplation, where placed as it were upon an eminence above all mankind, and raised near to the inhabitants of heaven, thou mayest lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and tell the people of thy Lord, by Him committed to thy charge, *their sins, and to the house of Jacob their iniquities.* Be not afraid of incurring the charge of falsehood; for a message thou hast, which it is thy bounden duty to deliver. For, what is a still more serious evil, many souls in these parts have been destroyed through the carelessness of the pastors; and many have been deluded by the ruinous influences of prosperity and abundance.

Pastors responsible to God for conscientious vigilance in the care of Christ's flock;

Isa. xl. 9,
marg.

Iviii. i. 16.

"Since therefore, according to the denunciations of the Lord, *the blood of the saints is to be required at the*

and for frequent preaching

of God's
holy Word.

Ezek.
xxxiii. 4, 6.

The anxious tone of this letter to be attributed to the influence of the solemn admonitions of Holy Scripture on the feelings of the writer.

Heb. iv. 12.

S. Mark
ix. 49.

S. Luke
xii. 49.
1 Cor. iii.
11, 12.

hands of the Shepherds, a vigilant watch must be kept; that is, there must be frequent preaching of the Word of the Lord, namely by the pastors of the Church, its watchmen and guardians; that no soul may perish through ignorance. For if any shall perish through carelessness, *his blood shall be reckoned against his own head.*

“My reason for insisting so keenly on points long familiar to every body I shall assign in what follows. For these principles [which I am now stating] have an important relation to the details of the subject suggested by me at the outset; the two being connected together in a mutual dependance upon one another; which makes it necessary for these principles to be cleared up in the first instance. For the man who has no concern about religion, has no concern about error, and on this depends the entire controversy, on this point turns the whole case [at issue.] Here it is that that *two-edged sword, which pierces even to the dividing asunder of the flesh and spirit, of the joints and marrow, and which is a discernor of the heart and its intents*, must cut thro' the nerves even to the bone. For this reason it is that my language is seasoned with the divine salt, it being commanded that *every sacrifice should be salted with salt*. For this reason it is that the sparks of that divine fire which the Lord came to send forth upon the earth, descend from heaven to burn up the wood, hay, stubble, that are unhappily builded by many upon the foundation. This is what may well be wondered at, that we Christians are so often builded upon other foundations than that beside which none can lay any; other foundations than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus. Alas what fuel for hell is preparing on every side in these unfortunate buildings; concerning the burning up of which has gone forth that kindling word of the Lord, issuing forth from the vast pile of those flames which never die; [and]

saying, *Take heed to yourselves, lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come upon you unawares, for as a snare shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth.* *S. Luke xxi. 34, 35.*

“You see what fearful warnings the Lord makes use of, to arouse to vigilance our mischievous indifference and sluggishness. Therefore [it is that] I have been led to cry, *Awake to vigilance, good Pope! It is time to arise out of sleep. The Lord is at hand!* and we are now standing almost in the perilous days at the end [of the world.] Lo! the nations are in perplexity, the kingdoms are moved; therefore shall the Most High soon utter his voice, and the earth shall melt away. Observing then, as I do, that the host of the enemy has beset us around on every side, I feel myself impelled by fear, (for I am no valiant warrior) to endeavour to arouse you, as the principal one among our leaders, even with importunate cries; for on you devolves the responsibility of the danger which now threatens the whole army of the Lord, lying torpid as it is in the field, when it should be engaged in the fight, and in part, what is still more melancholy, making submission to the adversary instead of offering resistance. Every thing is waiting for the signal from you, who are possessed of the legitimate power of regulating all details, arranging the war, arousing the leaders, ordering to arms, marshalling the lines, in fine opening the combat, yourself marching in the van. Alas that we, even we Christians, of this country, should have been so long subject to defeats in this spiritual warfare; first by reason of our carnal vices and proud conversation; then through the coldness of our wavering faith; the unsteadiness of which, while we perceived it not, has given occasion to our being surrounded by a triple file of the enemy—an enemy sent against us as a judgment for our luxurious apathy.

Boniface's neglect of the duties belonging to his primatial office, a source of much damage to the Church. *Rom. xiii. 11. Philip. iv. 5. 2 Tim. iii. 1. Ps. xvi. 6.*

Columbanus contrasts the apathy observable among Christians in Italy with the religious zeal of his own countrymen :

"That such apathy should exist, is to me, I confess, matter of astonishment; and [to think] that almost every one should be subjected to the influence of such a fatal slumber! I cannot conceive what kind of hearts, of ears, of senses, [are those] that the kindling words of the Lord Himself have failed to arouse to vigilance and zeal ever-fervent, to contempt of the world, to [imitation of] the poverty of Christ; as those words have [already] influenced many nations [elsewhere]. For coming, as I do, from the remotest corner of the world, where I have seen our spiritual leaders engaged in fighting the battles of the Lord, and hoping in future to see more able and valiant leaders of this sacred conflict;—and [then] finding matters as I do, ["when I look around me, and contemplate the slain upon the battle-field, as one who has had a share in the fight might do, when it is over,"] I feel stupified at the sight; and turning with pain and alarm to you [you] only, as the sole surviving hope among the chieftains, possessing [such] influence [as you do] through the honour due to the Apostle St. Peter, [to you] I address my lamentations over the destruction of so great an army.

after which he sets himself to approach more nearly the proper subject of this letter;

"But seeing that the frail bark of my intellect has yet been scarcely launched (according to the expression of the Lord) into the deep [of this question,] but has rather been so far stationary in one spot; (for a paper [like this] is insufficient to contain all that my mind was anxious, for various reasons, to include within the narrow compass of a letter; urged as I am by the king to express in detail to your clement ears the matters which give occasion to his grief: the trouble which he suffers being caused by the schism of the people about the queen, about his son, and perhaps himself too: for the report abroad is, that a statement was made to this effect, that if he were to be certain of the truth, he also would him-

self believe,) let us [now] return, [as they say,] to the book that we have left at the water's edge.

"Lest therefore the old enemy should succeed in entangling mankind in this interminable cord of error, let the occasion of the schism, I implore of you, be cut off at once, with the knife as we may say of St. Peter; that is, by [setting forth] a true confession of the faith in a Synod, and expressions of abomination and anathema against all heretics; that [so] you may purge the chair of Peter from all error, if there have been any, as they say, introduced:—if not, that its purity may be acknowledged on all hands. For it is a painful and lamentable case if the Catholic Faith be not held in the apostolic See. Yea, that I may speak out all (not to seem to use undue flattery even towards yourself) it is also a painful consideration [to reflect on,] that you were not the first to come forward (as being the party possessed of the legitimate power,) under the influence of a zeal for the faith, such as became you,—when defections from your army commenced such a long time since—and, after having first given proof of the purity of your own faith, to condemn or excommunicate the party which presumed to utter a word in the way of scandalizing reflections upon the principal See, in regard to the orthodoxy of its faith. For you are aware what a severe censure was denounced by the fathers in the Holy Synod of Nice, against the accusers of the innocent. But when I make these remarks, knowing as I do, that there are many causes arising in a noisy, clamorous, turbulent multitude, which do not allow matters of this kind to be brought [without difficulties] to a clear investigation, I have ventured on such suggestions, not because I believe [the assertions made,] but because [these suggestions] ought now to be put in practice. If there be any persons of your province who are opposed to the truth, let the censure fall on those only; for it is impossible for a

urging Boniface in particular to convoke a Synod for the settlement of existing controversies, and clearing the See of Rome from all suspicion of countenancing heretical opinions; blaming him withal for not having done so before.

On the supposition that the Fifth General Council favoured heresy, and that Pope Vigilius died infected with

it, he rebukes Boniface for taking so little pains to separate his own character from such associations.

S. John x.
4, 5.

mouth stuffed with meal or any other substance, to blow the fire. For every thing suffers from being placed in the vicinity of a contrary influence. Adopt then I pray you in Christ's name, some way of clearing your character, which is [so] torn to pieces among the nations; lest it be reckoned by the antagonist for double dealing on your part, if you observe silence any longer.

"Cease then to use dissimulation! Cease to maintain silence! And rather give utterance to the call of the true shepherd—that voice which his own sheep recognize, who hear not the voice of strangers, but will flee from such. I would provoke you, my fathers, my own patrons, to dispel [this] confusion from the face of your children and [your] disciples, who are confounded on your account. And what is of [still] more serious consequence, that the black cloud of suspicion may be dispelled from St. Peter's chair. Convoke therefore an assembly in order to clear [yourself of] the charges which are urged against you; for it is no [*child's play*] that you are accused of. For it is the receiving of Heretics, as I hear, that is attributed to you; though far be it from gaining credit, as a thing having occurred, existing, or likely to occur. They say however that Eutyches, Dioscorus, Nestorius, old heretics, as we know them to have been, were countenanced by Vigilius in some kind of Fifth Synod.† See [there] the cause, as they affirm,

† In opposition to the true doctrine of the Catholic Church, which teaches that in our Blessed Lord and Saviour there are *two natures*, the divine and human, united in *one person*, the Nestorians held that there were in Christ *two persons*, one of the Eternal Word, the other of the man Christ Jesus; for which error they were condemned as heretics in the *Third General Council* at Ephesus, in the year 431. Eutyches and Dioscorus, the Monophysites, i. e. maintainers of the belief that there was in our Lord only *one nature*, were for this opposite heresy condemned in the next (the *Fourth*) *General Council* at Chalcedon, in A.D. 451. The latter Council however appearing to give some countenance to the Nestorians, by sanctioning as orthodox the authors of the *Three Chapters*, which were considered of a ten-

of the whole scandal, if you too, as it is asserted, countenance them in like manner; or if you know even Vigilius himself to have died so infected, why do you make mention of his name in a way that is at variance with a good conscience. *For whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*

Rom. xiv. 23.

“Now, to you belongs the blame, if you have gone astray from the true belief, and made void your first faith. It is on just grounds that your juniors resist you, and on just grounds that they refuse to communicate with you, until the memory of the wicked be effaced, and consigned to oblivion. For if there be in these allegations more of certainty than fable, your sons are in their turn changed to the head, and you to the tail, the very mention of which is painful. Therefore also shall they be your judges, who have always maintained the orthodox faith, whoever they may be, even should they appear to be your juniors. They however are the orthodox and

Supposing the Pope to favour heresy, men of inferior position, but sounder faith, are entitled to judge, resist, and separate him from their communion.

dency favourable to their opinions, the Emperor Justinian, at the instigation of Theodore, Bishop of Cæsarea, a zealous Monophysite, passed an Edict, A.D. 544, condemning the Three Chapters, and ordering the passages favourable to the writers of them to be effaced from the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, without however any further prejudice to the authority of that august assembly.

A proceeding so injurious to the spiritual power of the Church was warmly opposed by Vigilius, who was at length however, (after exhibiting considerable unsteadiness of purpose, in repeated struggles with the emperor,) induced by coercive measures to give his consent to the decrees of the *Fifth General Council*, (held in Constantinople in A.D. 553,) in which the Three Chapters were condemned as pernicious and impious.—(See last Art. last par.) In fact the vacillating conduct of Vigilius was such, that he was trusted by neither party; and it is no wonder that one so far away as Columbanus should be partly misinformed, as he seems to have been, about the proceedings here referred to. That Vigilius should appear to him to have sanctioned or favoured the opinions of Eutyches and Dioscorus in the Fifth Council is in no ways strange, considering the influence under which it was held. But that the opposite views of Nestorius could have been countenanced by him in the same act were an absurd supposition. The part of his conduct most favourable to the Nestorians was his resisting for a time the decrees of that Fifth Council.

true Catholics, who have never harboured either heretics or persons suspected [of heresy,] nor defended such persons, but have ever been zealous for the true faith. And supposing therefore, that they [who attribute evil to you] are not of such a character [themselves,] as that they can fairly [take upon them] to judge men their seniors in point of order, but still more culpable than they are; in that case, ask mutual pardon of one another for a discord of such long continuance; cease to defend any person on either side contrary to reason, either you heretics, or they men of suspicious character; and as you have been both to blame, agree the sooner to a settlement of your differences.

St. Columbanus excuses his freedom of speech, partly from the usage of his native land.

"Bear kindly with me however, if in my treatment of these embarrassing topics, any expressions [*of an outlandish character*] have grated harshly against your gentle ears, because a consideration [*of the circumstances I have to explain*] will not allow me to pass over any thing [that bears] on the question, and the freedom of speech which accords with the usage of my country, is in part the cause of my boldness. For with us it is not the person, but the reason, which prevails; and my love for Evangelical peace constrains me to say all [this], that the earnestness of my anxiety for promoting concord and peace between you, (who ought to have formed but *one* body,) may have the effect of arresting your attention on both sides. *For if one member suffer, all we, the other members, must suffer with it.*

1 Cor. xii. 26.

Rome esteemed more highly by St. Columbanus and his countrymen, as the scene of the preaching and labours

"For we indeed, as I have already stated, are warmly attached to the chair of St. Peter. And great as is the renown and celebrity of Rome, it is by means of that Chair alone that she is great and illustrious with us. Yea, though the fame of that city founded in the days of old, the glory of Italy, [*with all its august associations heightened by the distance of intervening climes which separate it from our native soil,*] has been published far

and wide in the overflowing praises of almost all the earth, [*so as to reach (unchecked, wonderful to tell, by all the foaming billows of the deep, high though they rise, and wildly though they beat, around the globe) even to our western isle, situated as it is beyond the confines of the world ;*] nevertheless, from that period when God vouchsafed to manifest himself as the Son of God, and riding on through the sea of nations, disturbed many waters, [*and added to the chariots of his victorious train the thousands of unnumbered states, his triumphal car being driven by those two most glowing steeds of God the Spirit, namely the Apostles Peter and Paul, (whose valued remains you are happy in possessing)—[from that period, when] the chief Charioteer Himself, who is Christ—the true Father—the captain of Israel—bath made his way, o'er flowing straits, and billowy tides, and swelling seas, even unto us ;*]—from that period are ye great and illustrious, and Rome herself has become still more noble and exalted [than before] : and on account of [those] two Apostles of Christ, (the same two I mean, who are spoken of by the Holy Ghost, as the heavens declaring the glory of God, of whom it is said, *Their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world*, [on account of them]) you are in a manner heavenly, if the expression may be allowed, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world, saving the singular prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection.†

of SS. Peter and Paul, than for any amount of temporal grandeur possessed by her.

See 2 Kings ii. 12.

Ps. xix. 4.

† We have already seen Dr. Lanigan's candour, and Mr. Carew's, tested in their mode of dealing with this passage.—Vid. p. 310, note, of the present work. Mr. Brennan, coming after them (Acts v. 7) could not afford to be less Romish. Accordingly in two different places in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, he has the following choice specimens of quotation :—

Vol. i. p. 80.—" Rome is the head of the Churches of the world." Note. This passage deserves to be noticed. It affords another convincing proof of the doctrine of the ancient Irish Church relative to the supremacy of the See of Rome."

Columbanus warns the Pope against risking the loss of his authority by neglecting the dictates of right reason, giving way to pride and ambition, or exhibiting indifference concerning the faith of Christ.

“And therefore, as your honour is great in proportion to the dignity of your see, so is great care necessary on your part, in order that you may not forfeit your dignity through any perversity. For the power shall be yours just so long as right reason shall prevail with you. For he is the real holder of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who opens to the worthy by means of true knowledge, and shuts against the unworthy. Otherwise, if a man shall act in the contrary way, he shall not have power, either to open or to shut. These principles then being true and admitted beyond all contradiction by every one who rightly knows the truth, although it be understood by all, and no man is ignorant, how [Christ] our Saviour bestowed on St. Peter the keys of the kingdom, a grant on account of which you may perhaps be disposed to claim for yourself some proud share of authority and power in matters of religion beyond what others enjoy, be assured [however] that your power shall be lessened in the sight of God, if you even harbour such a thought in your mind. For the unity of the faith in all the world hath created a unity of power and prerogative, so as that liberty should be afforded to the truth by all men every where, and admittance refused to error by all alike. For even in the case of that Saint who was made keeper of the keys, it was a true confession that gained for him this privilege [*as all agree*]. Be it then allowed, even to your juniors, to address to you their solicitations, prompted by zeal for the faith, by the love of peace, by [a concern for] the unity of the Church, our common mother; who, like Rebecca, feels a mother's vitals rent within her—mourns over the quarrels and intestine wars of her children, and groans with anguish for the tearing asunder of her own bowels.

See *Gen.*
xxv. 22.

And again, Appx. I. p. 432, lb.—“‘Rome is the Head of the Churches of the world.’ Here is straightforward, conclusive testimony, so conclusive that it would be folly to employ a single syllable in attempting to illustrate it.” !!! This needs no comment.

"These are subjects which call for tears rather than for words! O how is it that the enemy of Christ's name has prevailed thus far—after the living words of the Son of God, after the fullness of the Gospels, after the lessons taught by the Apostles, after the modern writings of orthodox authors who have illustrated the Sacraments of the faith in various discourses from the New and Old [Testaments—how is it that after all, that enemy has been able] to divide the body of Christ, and cause separation among his members, and rend the robe of the very Son of God, the Saviour of the world, [that robe] which is unity, It is thy doing Satan, for which may Christ *our peace, who hath made both one*, subdue thy power. Come therefore, most dearly beloved, come quickly to an agreement, and be of one mind and contend no more for obsolete controversies; but rather observe silence [in regard to them] and consign them to everlasting quiet and oblivion. And if there be any points of uncertain character, let those be reserved for the judgment of God. But whatsoever things are plain, and such as men can judge of, judge them justly without respect of persons; and let the judgment of peace prevail in your gates, and acknowledge one another [as brethren,] that there may be joy in heaven and on earth, over the restoration of peace and harmony among you [once more.]

"What else have you to defend, if you be true Christians on both 'sides, except the Catholic faith? For I cannot understand on what principle Christian can contend with Christian about the faith, but that whatever an orthodox Christian, (who rightly glorifies the Lord,) shall say, another should answer 'Amen,' inasmuch as he also is partaker of the same faith and love. *Speak ye all then one thing, and be of one mind*, that all of you who are Christians, of whichever side you be, may be one. For if, as I have heard, some persons do not believe in the [existence of] two substances in Christ,

He exhorts all concerned in the controversy to avoid a contentious spirit, and seek the re-establishment of unity and peace.

Vid. 8.
John xix.
23, 24.
Eph. ii. 14.

True Christians bound to cherish and maintain unity with one another.

1 Cor. I. 10,
and 2 Cor.
xiii. 11.

The decisions of the Fifth General Council, as reported to St. Columbanus, he utterly condemns and anathematizes.

Col. i. 19.

Eph. iv. 10.

they are to be looked upon as heretics, rather than Christians. For Christ our Saviour is very God, eternal, unlimited by time, and very man, without sin, in time; who as touching his Godhead, is coeternal with the Father, and as touching his manhood is junior to his mother: who, born in the flesh, was never absent from heaven; but lived in the world, still abiding in the Trinity.

"And therefore if it has been written in the Fifth Synod, as one has told me, that the person who adores two substances† must have his prayer divided; the man that wrote it is divided from the saints, and separated from God. For we, regarding the unity of the Person, in which it hath pleased [the Father] that the fulness of the Godhead should dwell bodily, believe His Godhead and manhood [to form] one Christ, because *He that descended is the same that ascended above all heavens, that He might fill all things*. If any one shall think otherwise of the Incarnation of the Lord, he is an enemy to the faith, and to be abominated and anathematized by all Christians, of whatever order, or station, or grade, he may be; for no person should honour man to the injury of God. In Christ's name then I beseech you, spare no man who shall attempt to separate you from Christ; but

† The 9th Canon of Constantinople here intended, condemns not those who adore two substances in Christ, but those who introduce into their worship two distinct adorations, by addressing worship to the Divine Word and to the man Christ Jesus, as to two distinct persons, which was the tendency of the Nestorian heresy. The Canon itself here spoken of runs thus:—

"If any man say that Christ is to be adored in two natures, whereby are introduced two separate adorations, one to God the Word, and one to the Humanity; or if any man monstrously assert a single nature or essence, resulting from combined elements, either by destroying the flesh, or by confounding the Deity and humanity, so adoring Christ, but not adoring God the Incarnate Word, and His flesh, with a single adoration, as hath been from the beginning delivered to God's Holy Church, let him be anathema."—*Council Gen. Binnli. Tom. iv. p. 292. capitul. 9. Lut. Par. 1636.*

rather resist him to the face, if any one himself unwilling to believe rightly, shall be disposed to entice you away from the Catholic faith.

"Forgive me I beseech you for talking away in this harsh and rough style, seeing that I could not upon such an occasion, speak otherwise. For wishing, as I did, to promote the interests of truth in all [that I have advanced, and] knowing [at the same time] that *unleavened bread must be eaten with bitters*, I have endeavoured to serve God only, who is blessed for evermore—[And] I have given proof of my sincerity, and zeal for my faith, in choosing rather to give occasion to the censorious, than in a case like this, not to open my mouth, untutored though it be. [*Therefore, albeit the scorpion rises to aim the whizzing wound, and strain his trident tongue, as a bow of lies, in the person of those to whom allusion has been made; people who are always ready to judge in a proud and haughty spirit whatsoever is new, and are ever sure to meet in a spirit of unkind opposition, all writings that suit not their own refinement of taste;"] yet when the king of this Lombard nation requests an humble Scottish stranger to take up his pen—when the wave of the old torrent is rolling back again, who is there that will not be more inclined to wonder [at the circumstances of such a case] than to make it an occasion for invective. I, at all events, will not be afraid, nor shall I, where the cause is God's, be daunted by the tongues of men—[tongues] that give utterance to lies more frequently than they speak the truth. For in a case where [such] urgent necessity exists, we must rather struggle against our feelings of bashfulness, than give way to the influence of an indolent spirit.

He makes use of plainness of speech from a sense of duty.

Ex. xii. 8.

"To return to the point from which I have digressed, let me beg of you, seeing that many entertain doubts of the purity of your faith, to remove speedily this blot which tarnishes the lustre of the Holy See. For it com-

He once more urges the Pope to take steps for clearing

the character of the See of Rome from the suspicion of heretical tendencies, and to struggle earnestly for the faith:

Mod. xli. 4.

S. Luke
xviii. 8.

S. Matt.
xxiv. 22.

Ch. xxviii.
20, lb.

and again apologizes for penning such a letter as the present,

ports not with the grave character of the Church of Rome [to be subject to] this name for unsteadiness which at present attaches to her; [this belief] that she may be moved by any influence, from the solid ground of the true faith; in defence of which so many of her martyrs have shed their blood, choosing rather to die, than to be shaken. For supposing that in our days were to come the last persecution of that odious [*monster, whose hide scarce all the vessels [of the earth] will be able to support*] *shall we not resist even unto blood, fighting against sin*, as our fathers have done [before us,] the Apostles, I mean, and the company of the Martyrs. If there existed sore persecution in the first days of the faith, how much more in the latter end, concerning which the Lord saith, '*Thinkest thou that the Son of Man when he cometh shall find faith on the earth?*' and again, '*Except those days had been shortened, there should no flesh be saved.*' Happy he whom death shall remove, ere that in weakness he deny [the Lord]. He saith however, that there shall be even then existing elect ones, those namely concerning whom he spake in prophecy to his disciples, '*Lo I am with you always, even to the consummation of the world.*' Since therefore the elect that shall be in those more perilous days, ([days] too awful to compare with any that shall have been past and gone before them) shall support, the Lord assisting them, [those] greater trials, how shall not we even in defence of our faith, wherein we differ from Heathens, Jews, and heretics, support, by the Lord's assistance, in these comparatively safe and tranquil times, trials less afflicting.

"But when I urge you thus, although forbearing to act myself, and speaking rather than doing, ([with an apparent weakness suitable to the import of my name, called as I am] in Hebrew Jonah, in Greek Peristera, in Latin Columba, [i. e. a dove] more commonly known however by the appellation peculiar to your tongue,

though I might incline to the old Hebrew name of him like whom nearly I had well nigh been wrecked) grant me I implore you, your indulgence, as I have already desired more than once. Seeing that I have been impelled to write [this epistle] rather by the necessity of the case, than from a vainglorious temper; inasmuch as a certain person gave me to understand, in a letter which he addressed to me with all speed, almost on my very first arrival in the territories of this country, that I must be on my guard against you, as having lapsed into the sect of Nestorius. To whom, astonished [at such a statement,] I replied briefly, as well as I was able; but however, lest I should act in any manner contrary to the truth, I wrote [afterwards] a different answer, such as suited his letter, and suited also my good opinion of you (for I am always of opinion that the pillar of the Church is firm in the Branch;) which [second answer] I have directed to you to be read over, and objected to, if it any where gainsay the truth, for I do not venture to profess myself to be one of those that are beyond the reach of censure.

Jonah i. 15.

He had been put on his guard against Pope Boniface as a favourer of the Nestorian heresy.

See 1 Tim. iii. 15.

“Moreover, besides this ground for my writing, there is also the urgent injunction of king Agilulf, whose request has occasioned me very great astonishment and anxiety; for the state of things which I see at present existing I cannot regard as any thing short of miraculous. For the kings of this country for a long time past have been trampling on the Catholic faith, and promoting this Arian pestilence: at the present moment their express desire is to have our faith more strongly upheld. It may be that Christ, in whose favour every good originates, is now regarding us with an eye of mercy. Very unfortunate are we, if any further occasion of stumbling be afforded by our side. The king then makes request, and the queen requests, and all join in the request, that as soon as ever it may be done, all may be restored to

Moreover in writing this Epistle, he has been only complying with King Agilulf's express desire;

whose anxious wishes were for the peace and

well-being
of the
Church.

unity; [*that peace may be secured with promptness for the country,*] peace for the faith; that all may thus become one fold of Christ, [who is] King of kings; that you may follow Peter, all Italy you. What can be sweeter than peace where wars have prevailed? What more delightful than the reconciliation of brethren long separated? With what eagerness does the father come home [to his children] after many years [of absence.] How sweet the tidings of his arrival to the long expectant mother! So shall God our Father delight in the peace of His children throughout endless ages, and the joy of the Church our mother furnish matter of exultation for all eternity.

The conclusion.

"And now holy pope, and brethren, pray for me a sinner of the vilest class, and for my fellow pilgrims, at the holy places, and where the ashes of the saints repose; (and particularly those of S. Peter and S. Paul, [*who were at once the soldiers*] and most valiant warriors of the happiest of battle-fields, who followed even with their blood a crucified Lord;) that we may be accounted worthy to abide with Christ, to please Him, give Him thanks, and to Him with the Father and the Holy Ghost, to render praises without end, in union with you and all His saints, here, and throughout all ages, for ever and ever. Amen."

No. III.

VENERABLE BEDÆ'S ACCOUNT OF THE SYMBOLICAL MEANING OF THE RULE FOR FINDING EASTER, (*referred to at p. 192 of the present work,*) extracted from ABBOT GEOLFRID'S EPISTLE IN REPLY TO KING NAITAN.—(*See p. 211 of this work.*)—BEDÆ *Ec. Hist.* v. 22.

Symbolic
reason why
the first

"Supposing that you may like to be informed of a mystical reason also for these regulations;—We are directed

to celebrate the Paschal solemnity in the *first month* of the year, which is also called the month of new vegetation, because we should commemorate the Sacraments [i. e. the sacred mysteries] of the Lord's resurrection, and of our own deliverance, with the spirit of our minds renovated for the love of heavenly enjoyments. month is a proper season for the Paschal festival.

"In the *third week* of the same month we are bidden to observe the festival,—because Christ, our true Passover, who is sacrificed for us, having been the subject of promise before the law and under the law, came with grace in the third dispensation of the world; because that, having risen again from the dead on the third day, after having offered the sacrifice of His Passion, he willed that the same should be called the Lord's day, and that upon it we should annually celebrate the Paschal festival of the same Resurrection; because, moreover, we celebrate the solemn observances of that festival in a proper manner, only when we are careful to keep our Pasch, that is, our *passing* with Him from the world unto the Father, in faith, and hope, and charity. And why the third week of the year.

"After the *Vernal Equinox*, we are bidden to wait for the *full moon* of the Paschal month, that is, in order that the Sun may first make the day longer than the night, and the moon then present to the world the full orb of her light; because in the first instance the Sun of Righteousness, who hath healing in His wings, that is, the Lord Jesus, overcame by the triumph of His Resurrection, all the dark shades of death, and so ascending into heaven, sent down the Spirit from on high, and filled with the light of internal grace, His Church, which is often spoken of under the name of the moon; an order of [events connected with] our salvation on contemplating which the prophet said, 'The Sun hath arisen, and the Moon hath stood in her appointed place.' And why time of the full moon. Who-soever therefore shall contend that the Paschal full moon may occur before the Equinox, such an one cer- 2 Reg. vi. 45 ?

tainly disagrees with the teaching of the Holy Scriptures in his mode of celebrating the chief mysteries; but he agrees with those who believe that they can be saved without the preventing grace of Christ, who presume to teach that they could attain to perfect righteousness, even though the True Light had never dispelled the darkness of the world by His death and resurrection.

And why
the first day
of the week.

"Then setting out from the equinoctial rising of the sun, after the full moon of the first month, (the next in order after it,) that is, after the completion of the 14th day of the same month, (all which observances we have derived from the law,) we still further, in accordance with the suggestions of the Gospel, wait in the third week itself for the arrival of *the Lord's day*, and thus at length celebrate the votive commemoration of our Paschal feast; thereby indicating, that we do not with the ancients show respect for liberation from the yoke of Egyptian bondage; but that our Festival is in honour of the Redemption of the whole world; which was prefigured indeed in the deliverance of the ancient people of God, but was completed in the Resurrection of Christ; and that we pay this honour with devout faith and love, to signify that we rejoice in most certain hope of our own Resurrection also, which we believe will take place hereafter on the same sacred day of the Lord."



No. IV.

NOTE ON THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS AND ON THEIR SENSATIONS WHEN DRIVEN BY PERSECUTION INTO SOLITUDES AND MOUNTAIN WILDS.—*Extracted from the "LIFE OF THE REV. JAMES RENWICK, THE LAST OF THE SCOTTISH MARTYRS, BY THE REV. ROBERT SIMPSON, SANQUHAR," &c. &c. EDINBURGH, JOHNSTON, HUNTER-SQUARE, 1843, pp. 60, 61, referred to at p. 248 of the present work, as evincing a sympathy in some points between the Covenanters and the old Monks.*

Ch. iv. p. 60.—*"Happiness in the Solitudes.*

"That our suffering forefathers were men of prayerful habits, and persons who lived much in communion with God, their whole history shews in the clearest manner. Besides reading the Holy Scriptures, and conversing together on religious subjects, their principal occupation when they met, was *prayer*. The lonely moorlands were witness to their many supplications and earnest pleadings with God on behalf of His Church in the furnace. It was the prayers of these holy men that brought down on the wilderness so copious a flood of divine influences, for the supplications of God's people are like the lofty hills which attract the clouds of the sky, and bring down their contents in a full gush of refreshing waters on their summits. Whole days and nights were spent by them in this sweet exercise, for it was when they were driven furthest from men that they drew nearest God, and sought communion with Him when they were denied intercourse with their fellow men. Indeed they never felt themselves safe but when they drew near the Father of Mercies with the voice of prayer. And they could pray

The advantages of mountain retreats for prayer, &c.

without restraint on the bleak mountain side, or in the deserted shieling on the moors; and who can describe the divine ravishment of soul which they experienced in approaching the mercy seat through the great Intercessor, whose bowels of compassion yearned over his suffering Church? Some of the worthy men who outlived these times of tribulation declared that if they had the choice of any period of their life to spend it the second time, they would without hesitation, select the period of persecution, because it was then in an especial manner that they enjoyed the light of God's countenance, and fellowship with Him.

The Covenanters' notion of Anachoretic life.

"Never were men more out of their reckoning than were the enemies of these worthies, when they imagined that they robbed them of all conceivable comfort in compelling them to flee to the solitudes, and in keeping them there in the depth of winter, in cold and hunger, and loneliness; for the places to which they resorted, whether huts, or caves, or woods, were places where God's presence was peculiarly felt, and where they experienced the plain foretastes of heaven itself, so that it was with difficulty they were prevailed on to withdraw from these retreats. The deserts, as places of prayer, appeared to them more sweet and lovely than the most delectable paradise on earth. They loved the solitudes, for there rested the bodies of the martyrs; they loved the solitudes, for there they prayed together; they loved the solitudes, for there they walked with God, and enjoyed high communion with the Saviour, who seemed to have retired to the deserts with them. Could these be otherwise than excellent men who led a life so heavenly?"

For the curious little work from which this extract is taken I may here express my acknowledgments to my good friend Mr. Pollock of

Oatlands, Co. Dublin. The passage of the book here given furnishes us with a striking illustration of the facility with which men often drift into opinions imagined by them to be most contrary to their own, when they see not the tendency of the current which carries them along. For surely the reader, on perusing these extracts, may well exclaim, "*Mutato nomine de monachis fabula narratur.*" Other parts of the little book in question exhibit no less remarkable sympathy, or rather identity of sentiment, with the Church of Rome, in her most glaring and comparatively modern errors, especially that notorious one of the claim of a deposing power against heretic princes; of which the reader who is curious in such matters may find some interesting specimens by referring to pp. 88, 89, &c. of the work in question.—Vid. No. LXIII. *inf.*

No. V.

LETTER OF POPE JOHN VIII. APPROVING OF THE USE OF THE VULGAR TONGUE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, WITH VIEWS OF SOME OTHER LEARNED ROMANISTS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

The following is taken from a letter of Pope John VIII., written in A.D. 880, to Sfantopulcher, Count of Moravia (referred to at p. 370 of

this work. The entire epistle may be seen in the *Sac. Conc. Labbe & Coss. tom. IX. coll. 175-177, Lut. Par. 1671.*)

Pope John VIII. proves from Holy Scripture that Divine Service ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue of every country.

Ps. cxvii. 1.
Acts ii. 4,
11.

Philip. ii.
11.

1 Cor. xiv.

“ Finally, as to the Slavonic letters discovered by the philosopher Constantine, and their adaptation for the due celebration of the praises of God, we approve of them, as is just; and we enjoin that the preaching and actions of Christ our Lord be proclaimed in the said language. For it is not in three languages only, but in every language, that we are exhorted to praise the Lord, by the sacred authority which commands us, saying, *Praise the Lord all ye nations, and laud him all ye people.* And the Apostles *filled with the Holy Spirit, spake in all tongues of the wonderful works of God.* Hence too Paul also, that heavenly trumpeter, sounds forth this exhortation, *Let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is our Lord in the glory of God the Father.* Concerning which tongues he likewise gives us full and plain instructions in the First Epistle to the Corinthians; [shewing] how by speaking with tongues we may edify the Church of God. Nor indeed is it at all injurious to faith or doctrine, either to sing mass in the same Slavonic language, or to read [therein] the Holy Gospel, or divine Lessons from the Old and New Testaments, well translated and interpreted, or to chant [in the same tongue] all the rest of the Offices for the Hours. Since He that made the three principal tongues, Hebrew namely, Greek, and Latin, did Himself create all others likewise for his own praise and glory. We enjoin however, that in all Churches of your country, for the sake of greater dignity, the Gospel be read in Latin; and that it be afterwards proclaimed, in a translation into the Slavonic tongue, in the ears of the people that understand not the Latin words; as appears to be the practice in some Churches. And if you and your Judges be

pleased to hear Mass in the Latin tongue in preference, we enjoin that the ceremonies of the Mass be celebrated for you in Latin."

The very learned Romish author Martene has some interesting observations on this subject, part of which, especially as being connected with the matter of the preceding extract, appears worth giving to the reader in this place. In his elaborate work *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, (tom. i. p. 101, seu lib. 1, cap. iii. art. 2, Bassani, 1788,) this author has the following passage :—

Some observations of Martene on this matter quoted.

"Although the system of ecclesiastical discipline which prevails at present, requires that the mass be celebrated only in three tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, (as Honorius of Autun observes in the '*Jewel of the Soul*,' b. i. c. 92,) and the Church has by her statutes for many and just reasons banished the mother tongue from the sacred Liturgies, far different however was her primitive arrangement. And it appears to us to be not without good reason that we may assert (with Cardinal Bona *de Rebus Liturgicis*, l. 1, c. 5,) that the Apostles and their successors used in each country, that language that was common and vernacular among the people; and so celebrated divine service at Jerusalem in Chaldee; at Antioch, Alexandria, and other Greek cities, in Greek; and at Rome, and all through the West, in Latin."

He approves of having mass in a tongue not understood by the people, although admitting this to be entirely contrary to Apostolic usage;

In the next passage, Martene corrects a statement of Cardinal Bona's, which seemed to reduce all the old Liturgies to the Three Tongues here named. He shews on the contrary by

which he clears from an error of Cardinal Bona's,

many proofs, that other tongues, the Egyptian, &c., were used in the countries where they were spoken. In the course of this argument occurs the following notice of the letter of Pope John VIII. above cited :—

partly by a reference to the letter of Pope John VIII., above cited.

"V. In the IXth century, when the Sclavi were converted to the Christian faith by the zealous preaching of S. Methodius, John VIII. the Supreme Pontiff, not only allowed, but in the strongest manner approved of, their having divine Service and the Sacred Liturgy in the Slavonic language. With reference to this point we may quote the authority of the same Pontiff in his letter (247) to Sfantopulcher, Count of Moravia. 'Finally,' says he in it, 'as to the Slavonic letters,' &c., &c."

Then follows the passage of Pope John's letter already given to the reader; after which Martene adds, that the said letter was written to Sfantopulcher in A.D. 880, by Pope John, who was "admonished by God so to write," as is stated by Æneas Sylvius, that was afterwards the Supreme Pontiff Pius II., in his History of Bohemia.

Nos. VI. AND VII.

General character of the *Instructions* of St. Columbanus.

THE "INSTRUCTIONS" OF ST. COLUMBANUS.

The two following discourses are given as a specimen of the "Instructions" or short Ser-

mons of St. Columbanus. They are peculiarly interesting, not only as illustrations of the religion of this saint himself and of his times, but also as occurring in the oldest collection extant, as far as I am aware, of Sermons by any of the early Christians of the British Isles. It should be noted that the general doctrine that runs through all the "Instructions" is of a simple, edifying, scriptural character. The most striking apparent exception to this occurs in the end of "Instruction I." where we read that "God Almighty should be implored, *through the merits and intervention of His saints*, to bestow on us even some little portion of His light:" a passage so unlike the general tenor of the writings of Columbanus, that we might almost suspect some very great corruption of the text, or interpolation, to have been the means of introducing it. Supposing however the words to be genuine, as there does not appear to exist any external evidence of their spuriousness, their meaning must be qualified by the two following observations.

First, the "*merits* of the saints" in Columbanus's day had a sense completely different from that which we attach to the words; we in the course of time having altered the meaning of this expression. For "*merits*" used of old to signify gains or advantages, without necessarily including the idea of deserving or having a

"Merits of the Saints," what meant thereby in ancient writings.

Illustration
of the use of
the expres-
sion from
the life of
Arnolf, bi-
shop of
Metz.

Archbishop
Ussher's ob-
servation on
the subject.

claim on a thing. *Merits* then signified as well "gifts of grace," "privileges freely bestowed," as "earnings," and thus, meriting, in the ears of Columbanus, did not necessarily imply anything inconsistent with the deepest humility—as may be sufficiently seen from the dying words of Arnolf, bishop of Metz (A.D. 614–640, cir.) to the friends who surrounded him in his last hour, "Dear and respected friends," said he, "pray to Christ in my behalf. For the day is now come for me to appear and be presented before my Judge. What shall I do? No good thing have I performed in this world. By all iniquities and sins am I narrowly hedged in; for which, I implore you, pray the Lord that I may *merit* pardon," *i. e. obtain* it, though undeserved.—(*Vid.* Opp. Bed. iii. 254. Arnolf however is described as having been an eminently pious and saintly prelate.) Further, in respect to the meaning of the word here under consideration, Archbishop Ussher observes (in his Answer to a Jesuit, ch. xii. p. 478, Camb. 1835,) that to *merit*, in the writings of the Fathers, signifies "simply to procure or to attain, without any relation at all to the dignity either of the person or the work." To follow out the inquiry how far many of the errors of the Church of Rome may have originated in the abuse of words, would be an interesting employment, but

not however one suitable to the scope of the present work.

Secondly; "the intervention of the Saints" mentioned in the first Instruction of St. Columbanus, may as far as I see, imply only such a use in prayer of the names of those who have departed this life in the true faith and fear of God, as is allowed, and practised in the Holy Scriptures; (see Deut. ix. 27; and compare Gen. xxvi. 3, 5; Lev. xxvi. 44, 45; Ps. cv. 42; cvi. 4; cxix. 132; cxxxii. 10; 1 Kings viii. 66; xi. 12, 13, 32-39; xv. 3, 4, 5; 2 Kings viii. 19; xiii. 23; xix. 34; xx. 6; 2 Chron. vi. 42; Isa. xxxvii. 35; Rom. xi. 28;) without any reference whatsoever to the antiscriptural Romish doctrine which leads men to rely for an answer to their prayers, on the agency or deservings of the departed saints of the Lord.

Whether the phrase "intervention of the Saints" in a writing of St. Columbanus necessarily implies their mediation.

NO. VI.—ST. COLUMBANUS'S INSTRUCTION OR SERMON "ON THE SPIRIT OF PENITENCE AND WATCHFULNESS IN WHICH THE ADVENT OF THE [GREAT] JUDGE SHOULD BE EXPECTED."—(Given as INSTRUCTION XII. P. 72, in *Flaming's Collection*.)

"In the discourses already addressed to you, we have been endeavouring in some sort to suggest [to your minds] an idea of the [kind of] contrition required [of us], and exerting ourselves to arouse by a kind of soliloquy, the indolence of our own heart indeed in particular, but [besides that], of every hearer's heart also.

Repeated exhortations needful, to dispel man's indifference to religious truth.

However, as the scanty measure of [our] faith, and [our] carnal wills, influenced by the passions of the world, receive in a cold and slighting manner these lessons of correction, the same [truths] must be often repeated: for if [our] faith were not of unsteady character, even a single one of the testimonies of the divine oracle already brought before our notice would abundantly suffice [to dispel our sloth.]

The uncertainty of the future a snare to sinners.—
See *Ecc.*
viii. 11.

"Now they believe, and [yet] believe not, who neglect what they hear. For imagine that some person were to say to you—'Make [good] use of to-day: for the Judge of this world means to burn you alive on the morrow,' what sort of anxiety, let me ask, what sort of terror, would take possession of you? And upon hearing such tidings, if you were allowed to have a single day free to your disposal, what exertions would you make! What cries would you utter! What persons would you appeal to! In what a lowly, what a sorrowful, dejected, style you would move about! Would you not lavish all your money upon those by whose intercession you might suppose there would be a possibility of escaping? Would you not give all that you were worth for the redemption of your soul, and reserve nothing, even though you were of a miserly and pinching disposition, but spend all, give away all, for your life. And if any one were to attempt to retard or hinder you, would you not say, 'Perish all for the sake of my salvation: let nothing remain, provided only I may live.' [And] why would you act in this way? Because there would be no doubt on your mind, but that according to the sentence of your dread and awful Judge, you should be committed to the flames. But in the existing state of matters you do entertain doubts, because you have no knowledge how soon your fate may be sealed: that it will be sealed however, you are not ignorant, although exhibiting [such] carelessness on the subject.

“We are called upon then to awake; to be watchful; to pray: in accordance with that precept of our Saviour Jesus Christ, our God, who saith, ‘*And take heed to yourselves lest haply your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come upon you unawares, for as a snare shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth. Watch ye therefore at all times, that ye may be counted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.*’ If we hear these words and believe them, our watchfulness will give evidence of our faith, and this saying of the Lord our Saviour will thrill through our senses, influencing us to shake off the torpid and sluggish lethargy of deadly indifference, that we may lay aside all mortal cares, and be at all times ready; in expectation of the advent of the last day, in which either punishment or glory shall be allotted to us [for eternity.] And [thus] shall that admonition of the Lord now addressed to us, in which He has taught us to be always watching and praying, sharpen the energy of our souls, that we may not be as if believers, and [yet] no believers, and as if paying attention, and yet not attending [to His word.] O [rather] let us unceasingly from the bottom of our hearts, beseech, implore, and supplicate the unspeakable compassion of our merciful and gracious God, for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ; that He vouchsafe so to inspire us with His love, as to unite and join us therein to Himself inseparably for all eternity: that meanwhile, so long as we be resident in this body of death, He may raise our affections from earth, associate them with Heaven; and that we may so await His advent without blame, that when He shall appear, we may meet Him acceptably with joy, and in the strong confidence of love.

The necessity of looking for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.
Luke xxi.
 34-36.

“*How blessed! How happy those servants, whom the Lord when He cometh, shall find watching.* Blessed St. Columbanus ear-

nestly sup-
plicates the
gift of the
Spirit of
love to
Christ.
S. Luke xli.
37.

1 Cor. xlii.8.

and of light
in Christ;

See Heb. iv.
14-16, and
x. 19-22.

and of con-
stant "look-
ing unto
Jesus."

watching, when we watch for God the Author of the universe, who fills all things; whose greatness exceeds all comprehension! O that vile as I myself am (His own servant however still, though but a feeble one) He might vouchsafe to rouse even me from the slumber of indolence, so to kindle in me that fire of divine love, that the flame of His love, the longing after His exceeding great kindness, might sparkle in me more brightly than the stars, and the heavenly fire continue to keep alive within for ever. O that I were composed of such materials, as would continually feed, support, and nourish that fire; and cherish that flame, never to know decline, never to cease from burning still more strongly. O that I were worthy of such honour, that my lamp might burn through the livelong night in the temple of my Lord, to give light to all that enter into the house of my God. Grant to me, O Lord, I beseech Thee, in the name of Thy Son Jesus Christ, my God, *that charity which never faileth*, that my lamp may know [only] how to burn, never know how to be extinguished; that it may maintain life in myself, and shed its light on others [around me.] Do Thou, O Christ, our own most Sweetest Saviour, vouchsafe to kindle our lamps, that they may ever burn brightly in Thy temple, and receive never-failing light from Thee, the [true] never-failing Light. That so our darkness may be lightened, and the darkness of the world banished from around us. So communicate Thy light, I beseech Thee, my Jesus, to this lamp of mine, that by its light I may obtain a vision of that Holiest of Holies, whereinto Thou, the eternal High Priest, ["hast for ever entered, through the Portals of thy mighty Temple"], so as that I may only see Thee, look to Thee, long after Thee, for ever. That setting my love on Thee only, I may behold Thee, long for Thee, wait on Thee, with my lamp ever lighting and burning in Thy presence. Be it thine I implore Thee,

most loving Saviour, to reveal Thyself to us that knock [for admittance to Thy presence]—that learning to know Thee, we may love Thee alone, love Thee exclusively; long after Thee only; meditate on Thee only, by day and by night; and make only Thee the subject of our thoughts; and that Thou mayest vouchsafe to inspire us with such a measure of Thy love, that our love and affection for Thee may be such as is fitting towards Thy divine [and heavenly] nature; that Thy kindness may occupy all our inmost souls, and Thy love take possession of us wholly, Thy charity filling all our senses. That we may know no other love but Thine, who art the Everlasting [Lord]. That so there may be found in us that boundless love, that never can be quenched by the many waters of this air, and earth, and sea, according to that word '*Many waters cannot quench love.*' And O that this may be realized in us even in part, by Thy gracious gift, our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

*Song of Solomon, viii.
7.*

No. VII.

ST. COLUMBANUS'S INSTRUCTION ON THE SUBJECT "OF JESUS CHRIST THE LIVING FOUNTAIN, AND OF COMING TO HIM FOR DRINK."—
Given as INSTRUCTION XIII. p. 74, in FLEMING.

"Impressed with a strong sense of the misery of human life, as brought before us in the observations of every-day experience, and with solemn reverence at the same time for the divine oracles, we have been led to exhibit, in the discourses which you have already heard, however inelaborate their style, the best efforts, feeble though they be, of our humble ability; and however this way of talking on our part may haply appear super-

The preacher though diffident of his abilities, must in faithfulness labour to the best of his power in the enforcement

ment of
Christian
truth.

fluous in the eyes of others, yet to ourselves it seems appropriate enough that the discourse should begin with allusions of a personal nature, such as these. For it is not so much the indolence of others, as our own, that we are endeavouring to arouse. And moreover, although to the perfect in wisdom these advances towards wisdom [which we are engaged in] may prove not entirely satisfactory, still for beginners, and poor lukewarm creatures like ourselves, they must be regarded as unavoidable, and well adapted enough to our case. For what cannot be concealed, what cannot be kept silent, without doing harm, it is inexpedient to hide and inexpedient to hush. For this reason therefore it seemed to us better to speak, even in a homely style, than to observe silence. For we have judged it to be undoubtedly safer to employ our conversation on such topics as these, than on others that are either idle or frivolous.

Christ the
Spring of
living wa-
ters, how to
be ap-
proached
and applied
by the be-
liever.

S. John vii.
37.

Isa. lv. 1.
Jer. li. 13.

"Lend then your ear once more, brethren dearly beloved, to our observations, as [persons] convinced of the necessity of paying attention to the lessons which you hear, [on such occasions as this]. And refresh your thirst, yet not so as to extinguish it, at the waters of this divine fountain, concerning which we are now desirous to speak. Drink, yet not so as to be satiated. For the Living Fountain, the Fountain of Life, now summons us to himself, and says, '*Whosoever is athirst let him come unto me and drink.*' Observe what it is you are to drink. Let Isaiah inform you; let the Fountain Himself inform you:—'*And they have forsaken me, the Fountain of living water, saith the Lord.*' It is the Lord then Himself, Jesus Christ, our God, that is the Fountain of Life, and He therefore invites us to Himself the Fountain, that we may drink. He drinks who loves Him; he drinks who takes his fill of the Word of God; who has a perfect love for Him, a perfect longing after Him: he drinks, who is inspired with a burning love for wisdom. Let us

Gentiles then drink with eagerness from that [Fountain] which the Jews forsook [*For to us also as well as to other Gentiles may apply that saying about 'those who open not their mouths,' and we too may be exhorted to open the mouth of our inner man, to eat with anxious haste and eagerness *that bread which cometh down from heaven.**] S. John vi. 33.

In order then that we may eat of this Bread—that we may drink of this Fountain, [both of which are one and] the same Jesus Christ our Lord, (who speaks of Himself as though He were to be used by us for food, [under the title of] the living bread, *which giveth life to this world*; and in like manner pointing to Himself as the Fountain, He saith, '*Whosoever is athirst, let him come unto me and drink,*' concerning which Fountain also the prophet saith, '*For with thee, is the Fountain of Life.*' See whence that Fountain flows; for it is from the same source from which the bread also descends; because it is the same One who is the Bread and the Fountain, the Only Son, our God, the Lord Christ, whom we ought unceasingly to hunger after; and although we are eating of Him in loving Him, although we devour Him by our longing after Him, yet let us continue our longing after Him, as though hungry still. In like manner, that we may always drink of Him, the Fountain, with exceeding pleasure, drink of Him unceasingly in the full eagerness of our longing after Him, and be delighted with His grateful sweetness, (for the Lord is sweet and pleasant,) though we do eat of Him and drink, yet let us ever still hunger and thirst for Him. For this our food and drink can never be entirely consumed nor exhausted; for although used, it is not spent; though drunk of, it doth not waste; because our bread is eternal, and our Fountain is ever flowing, and ever sweet. Whence the prophet saith, '*Ho ye that thirst, come to the Fountain.*' For this Fountain is for such as thirst, not for those who feel satiety; The more of Christ His people have enjoyed, so much the more will they long after uninterrupted communion with Him. Psa. xxxvi. 9.

Isa. lv.

See *S. Matt.*
v. 6.

The pre-
ciousness of
Christ to
them that
receive Him.
Col. ii. 3.

Psa. xxxiv.
8.

He is wis-
dom, light,
and life, unto
His people.

The preach-
er anxiously
implores

and therefore it is that He invites to Himself the hungry and thirsty, upon whom elsewhere he pronounced a blessing;—who are never satisfied with drinking, but the more they have swallowed, the more thirsty will they be.

"What reason have we, brethren, to desire, and seek after, and love unceasingly, that Fountain of Wisdom, the Word of God on High, 'in whom are hidden,' as the apostle saith, '*all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,*' [treasures] which he is inviting those that are thirsty to draw upon. Art thou thirsty?—drink [here] of the Fountain of Life. Art thou hungry?—eat [here] of the Bread of Life. Blessed are they that hunger for this bread, and thirst after this fountain. For [though they be] always eating and drinking, yet retain they their desire to be eating and drinking still. For exceedingly delicious must be that food, which is continually made use of for meat and drink, and yet is continually the object of hungering and thirst; ever fresh upon the taste, and ever still desired—whence the Royal prophet is led to use that exclamation, '*O taste and see how sweet, how gracious, the Lord is!*'"

"Let us then, brethren, obey this call, in which we are invited to the Fountain of Life, by [Him who is] the Life, who is the Fountain not only of living water, but the Fountain also of eternal life: the Fountain of Light, and the Fountain of Illumination; for from Him are all these things, wisdom, life, light everlasting. He is the Author of Life, the Fountain of Life. He is the Creator of light, He the Fountain of illumination. And therefore, thinking lightly of the things that are seen, and ["soaring high toward heaven, let us seek to drink like fishes, yet as fishes endued with the height of reason and sagacity"] of [that] *living water that springeth up unto life eternal.*

"O that thy summons may bring me thither to that Fountain, Thou God of Mercy, Thou Lord of Goodness,

that there in company with Thy thirsty ones, I too may drink of the living stream of the living Fountain of living water ! that so, charmed with its exceeding sweetness, I may abide by it for ever, exclaiming, ' O how sweet is the Fountain of living water, whose water never ceases springing up unto everlasting life ! ' Thou, O, Lord art that true Fountain, for ever and ever to be desired, though [at the same time] ever enjoyed and ever drunk of. Give to us evermore, O Lord Christ, this water, that it may be in us also, a well of water living and springing up unto life everlasting. Great indeed is the boon I seek for, who can doubt it ? But Thou, the King of Glory, art wont to give great favours, and hast promised to give them. Nothing can be greater than Thyself, and Thou hast given Thyself to us ; Thou hast given Thyself for us. Grant us therefore we beseech Thee, that we may know the object of our love, forasmuch as it is nought else beside Thyself that we are seeking to have bestowed upon us. For Thou art our All, our Life, our Light, our Salvation, our Food, our Drink, our God. Breathe into our hearts I pray Thee, O our [beloved] Jesus, that inspiration of Thy Spirit, and wound our souls with Thy love, that every heart among us may be able to exclaim with truth, '*Shew me Him that my soul loveth, for I am wounded with love.*'

grace from
on high to
love the
Fountain of
Life ;

Song of Sol.
v. 8.

"Grant O Lord, that these wounds may be in me. [For] happy is the soul that is so wounded with love. Such an one seeks the Fountain ; such an one drinks of it ; yet while drinking, continues ever thirsty ; and [at the same time] by its longing desires keeps quaffing on ; it drinks unceasingly by continuing its thirst. Thus in its love it is ever seeking after Him ; and its cure is found in submitting to fresh wounds. And O that these health-giving wounds may penetrate to the inmost recesses of our souls, through the gracious operation of Jesus Christ our God and Lord, the merciful and wise and to drink of its waters, and still thirst for fresh supplies of them evermore.

Physician, who is One with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen."

No. VIII.

LETTER OF POPE GREGORY VII. TO TURLOGH O'BRIAN KING OF IRELAND, AND HIS SUBJECTS, CONTAINING THE FIRST EXPRESS PAPAL CLAIM EVER MADE, TO SUPREMACY, WHETHER SPIRITUAL OR TEMPORAL, OVER IRELAND.—(*Ex Codice Cotton Sæculi XIII. and XIV. Claudius A. 1. membr. 4to. no. 6, as quoted in O'Conor's Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. 2. Seely, Buckingham, 1810, p. 73.*)

Pope Gregory VII. to Turlogh King of Ireland.

A.D. 1084. The kingdoms and powers of the world to be subject to the authority of the successors of St. Peter.

"Gregory bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Turlogh the illustrious king of Ireland, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland, health and Apostolical Benediction.

"Through the entire globe the doctrine of the Lord Jesus hath shed forth its light. For He who hath gone forth as a bridegroom out of His chamber, hath placed His tabernacle in the Sun, and there is none that can be hidden from the glowing heat of His beams. His authority hath laid the foundations of Holy Church in the solid rock, and hath committed to blessed Peter (who derives his venerable name from the rock) the charge of superintending her government; placing her also above all the kingdoms of the earth, and putting into subjection unto her, principalities, and powers, and all that seems possessed of dignity or grandeur in the world; in fulfilment of that prophecy of Isaiah, 'They that spake against Thee shall come to Thee, and bow themselves down to the soles of Thy feet.'

"To blessed Peter therefore, and to his vicars (in the list of whom by the ordinance of Divine Providence, our lot also hath been cast,) the universal Church owes a

debt of obedience as well as reverence, which debt, be careful that ye discharge, in a devout spirit of affection to [this] Holy Church of Rome. [And] we furthermore exhort you as our well-beloved children, to practice righteousness, to cherish and maintain the catholic peace of the Church, and to draw her closely to yourselves with affectionate esteem, in the arms of your charity. And if there shall occur among you any matters of business, in which it may seem worth while to have our aid, give diligence to report them to us without any delay, and your just demands shall with God's assistance be conceded to you. Dated Sutrium, 6 Kal. Mar. (24th Feb.)"

Gregory expresses his readiness to assist the Irish in any matters of business where they might call upon him.

No. IX.

OF THE ANCIENT EPISCOPAL SEES OF IRELAND, &c.

The nature and limits of the present compilation rendered it necessary that the notices of our ancient episcopal sees, Church discipline, &c. given in the text (pp. 446, seqq., 616-618) should be of a very brief and cursory character. It may be proper however to introduce here a few more particular matters of detail in illustration of this subject, with copies of some of the most ancient lists of those old sees which are on record, since the date of their settlement in the twelfth century and subsequently.

Of the ancient episcopal sees, Church discipline, &c., of Ireland.

From all the documents relating to our ancient ecclesiastical affairs which have come down

The number of bishops in

Ireland very
large in the
early ages,
as indicated
by Nennius,
&c.

to us, it appears very certain that the number of bishops who laboured in Ireland in the earliest ages very far exceeded that which was allowed to remain after the settlement referred to. Thus we have seen Nennius (pp. 37, 38) attributing to St. Patrick the ordination of 365 bishops and 3000 presbyters, a number which has been further enlarged by later tradition.* Again in the lists of the three orders of the old Irish saints (given at pp. 60, seqq.) we find the first order in St. Patrick's time including 350 bishops; a number which was however soon reduced, as we find the third order in the 7th century comprehending only 100 bishops. A tradition preserved in Keating's History of Ireland states that Aongus king of Munster in St. Patrick's time had two bishops, and ten priests in his household. And St. Columbkille is represented in a composition of great antiquity, ascribed to his cotemporary Dallan Forgaill, as coming to the great convention of Drumcheatt, attended by a company of 20 bishops, 40 priests, 50 deacons, and 30 students.† There may be, no doubt, much exaggeration in all this; but making due allowance for such a consideration, these

* The "Tripartite" Life of St. Patrick mentions 370 bishops, and of priests 5000. Colgan, *Trias Th.* p. 167.

† See Keating's Hist. cited in the learned "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*," by the Rev. Wm. Reeves, Appx. p. 182.

accounts must still go far to prove the fact, that in the age when they first became current, people entertained a prevalent impression that bishops were very numerous in Ireland during the lifetime of her apostle, and that the numerical proportion which they bore to the presbyters was much greater than in after times.

With regard to the 365 bishops whose ordination is ascribed to St. Patrick, the learned bishop Lloyd suggests that "perhaps the meaning might be, that beside those 30 bishops which Patrick ordained for the bishops' sees, he also ordained as many suffragans as there were rural deanries, in each of which there were eight or nine parish priests, taking one deanry with another;"* an opinion which is confirmed by Keating in a passage of his History where he observes that "the number of bishops that we have noticed above is the less to be wondered at, since we read in ancient books that there was a bishop in Ireland for every deanry" at present.† But this appears to be only a private and unfounded conceit of these two writers; such a thing as a distribution of the island into 30 bishoprics in the time of St. Patrick or for many centuries afterwards, being no where noticed in our records; and the very notion of rural deanries being a

Bishop Lloyd's notion of the 365 bishops consecrated by St. Patrick,

though confirmed by Keating.

appears little accordant with sound reason.

* Hist. Acc. of Church Gov. &c. p. 92. Reeves, ut sup. p. 126. † ib.

matter of still more recent growth in this country; the office of rural dean having been altogether unknown in Ireland, according to the best authors, until the year 1152.

The multiplicity of bishops in Ireland continued so far as to the 12th century.

Its tendency to prove the early conversion of the Irish to Christianity.

Even at so late a period as in A.D. 1111, we find the synod of Fiadh-Mac-Aongusa attended, as its records inform us, by 50 bishops, and 300 priests, all apparently belonging to the southern half of Ireland.*

"It was," as Bingham observes, "the distinguishing feature between countries early converted and those at a later period, that the dioceses of the former were much more numerous and circumscribed. Thus in Asia Minor which extended 630 miles in length, and 210 in breadth, there were 400 dioceses, while in Germany, which was of greater extent, there were but 40 bishoprics, because Christianized at a much later period. In Poland there were only 30, and in Russia 21;" and so of other countries.† This circumstance therefore plainly indicates the early conversion of the Irish to the Christian faith.

These early bishops had no accu-

But however numerous these our early bishops may have been, they had not, it seems, any accu-

* See the "*Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year of our Lord 1111; or the *Annals of Ulster*, in O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Scrip.* vol. iv. p. 376, and p. 461 sup.

† Bingham, *Antiq.* Book ix. ch. 6. Reeves, *Antiq. of Down*, &c. p. 126.

rately defined territories allotted to them for dioceses ; (or parishes, as the episcopal districts were also called at their first origin ;) no such distribution of the country having taken place before the 12th century. Nor were there any perfect and uninterrupted successions of bishops in particular localities or Cathedral towns, unless perhaps in Armagh. Individual clergymen of particular places were made bishops, not so much from any feeling that those places ought to have bishops permanently located in them, but rather because the persons themselves who were so appointed appeared worthy of being elevated to the episcopal rank ; without considering whether their predecessors in the same place had enjoyed it or not, or without arranging that their successors therein should always be persons holding the same dignity.

In fact, while it is most certain that the bishop's office, as distinct from that of the subordinate clergy, and as alone possessing in itself the power of ordination to the sacred ministry, was highly esteemed among the ancient Irish, no other than episcopal ordination being so much as known to them, yet at the same time we find no traces among them of any thing like an approach to a strict notion of Church government by means of diocesan episcopacy. The multiplicity of bishops was maintained rather with a

rately defined episcopal districts, nor settled Cathedral towns.

The bishop's office among the old Irish more connected with ordination, than with any exclusive power of Church government ;

the latter
being large-
ly partici-
pated in by
the presby-
ters.

view to securing to the Church the perpetuity of orders, than for any purposes of diocesan government. The authority of the Church in all matters of controversy, appears to have been exercised fully as much by the presbyters, especially by such as were abbots or successors of eminent founders of religious houses, or clergymen who were themselves eminent for learning, zeal, and piety, as by the bishops. Thus in the great contest about Easter, St. Cumman, anxious to appeal to an authority of high repute in his native Church, has not recourse to any particular bishop or episcopal synod, but to his "fathers," namely "the successors of Bishop Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Brendan, Nesan, and Lugidus," who passed a resolution by their own authority, to guide the practice of their countrymen in the matter in question. In like manner, St. Colman at Whitby speaks of his having been appointed to the bishopric and mission of Northumberland "by the seniors" of Hy; not by the abbot exclusively, much less by the bishop; to whom indeed no special authority appears to be attributed in the narrative, beyond the power implied in it of conferring holy orders upon the candidate presented to him.*

The episcopal office
however

But that the bishop's office was known and held in much honour among the ancient Irish,

* pp. 161, 182, sup.

is a fact abundantly testified by the evidence of our ancient records; an instance or two in illustration of which may be inserted here for the satisfaction of the reader. And first, in the Life of St. Columba attributed to Adamnanus, we are informed that on a certain occasion there came to visit the Saint, a strange bishop from the province of Munster, "who from feelings of humility did all in his power to conceal his rank, so that no person might know that he was a bishop:" but however on the Lord's day, when the bishop, having been requested by Columba to consecrate the Holy Eucharist, had invited him to come forward "that they might break *the bread of the Lord* together, as two presbyters, the Saint on this coming up to the altar, and casting a sudden glance at his face, addresses him in these words—"The blessing of Christ be on thee brother; break thou this bread by thyself alone, as it is meet for a bishop to do. For now know we that thou art a bishop; why then hast thou thus far attempted to disguise thyself, that we should not render thee the veneration due unto thine office."*

viewed by them with due veneration and respect; as illustrated in Adamnanus' Life of St. Columba,

Again, when the monks of Hy were sending Aidan to be their missionary in the Northumbrian realm, they took care to have him first "elevated to the episcopal order."† Under

and in Bede's anecdotes of bishops Aidan and Finan.

* Adamn. Vit. S. Col. lib. i. 26, Canis. (44. Colg.)

† p. 174 sup.

Case of
Cedd's con-
secration by
three bi-
shops.

this Aidan was founded the church of Lindisfarne, after the model of its parent Hy: and from Lindisfarne again, bishop Finan having sent Cedd, a presbyter, to preach the Word among the East Angles, and learning afterwards what good success had attended his labours, he "appointed him bishop over that nation, having called in two other bishops to assist him in the ordination service. And he then having been thus promoted to the episcopal order, returned once more to his province, and pursuing with greater authority the work he had already begun, erected churches in different places, and ordained priests and deacons, to assist him in the preaching of the faith and the administering of baptism."*

The un-
broken lines
of Irish
episcopal
succession
varied as to
position,
from place
to place, in
the course
of years.

This latter passage, and the one from Dallan Forgaill above cited, clearly testify, that the distinction of Christian ministers into three orders was well known and in use among the ancient Irish. But that any of the present dioceses of Ireland has enjoyed a regular and unbroken succession of bishops belonging to a particular locality, from the very commencement, we have no evidence, but rather the contrary;—a circumstance which need excite little surprise, when we consider the manner in which the several sees first came into existence. On this topic we

* V. Bed. Ec. Hist. III. 22.

cannot suggest to the reader any observations more to the purpose than those comprised in the following judicious remarks of the reverend and learned author of the "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*," (p. 136.)

"Most of the ancient sees of Ireland appear to have had a monastic origin, the founders being either bishops, or presbyters who associated bishops with them in the government of their houses. But in such cases the memory of the founder was revered more as the father or first abbot than as bishop, and hence it was that the term *comhorba*, *coworba*, which was applied to a successor in the government of the institution, had reference to his abbatial, not episcopal office. Of these successors some were only superiors, and others, according to their inclination or qualifications, were advanced to the episcopal rank. Hence while the abbatial succession was carefully maintained, there were occasional breaks in the episcopal line. Not that it is likely that the compass of a modern bishopric was ever without some one monastic establishment which had a bishop, but that the succession was not uninterruptedly preserved in any one monastery, not even in that one which, by some accident came to be the cathedral of the diocese. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that

The ancient sees of Ireland mostly traceable to a monastic origin.

the diocesan arrangement, if any existed, was very fluctuating, according as one religious establishment started into existence, enjoying the superintendence of a distinguished head, or another sunk into obscurity, or was governed by a presbyter or lay abbot. 'Such an interruption,' observes Dr. Lanigan, 'might have occurred in less distinguished sees or places, owing to the singular practice in Ireland of raising persons to the episcopacy, here and there, without confining such promotions to old established sees, or places where there had been bishops in former days. The appointment of a bishop in a new spot might have prevented the regular continuation of others in a contiguous place which had bishops before.' **

Several ancient sees often comprehended in a single modern diocese;

as in the cases of Meath,

Down,

The larger dioceses of Ireland, as they now stand, are generally formed of collections of the smaller sees of ancient times which have been reduced to the condition of parishes, and of districts not in primitive times assigned to any diocese. So the modern diocese of Meath includes within its limits upwards of 20 churches which are on record as having been at one time or another the seats of bishops; (including the five mentioned at p. 617 sup.) In like manner Down includes, besides the ancient see of Dunlethglas, (afterwards called Dundaletglas, and

* Lanigan, Ec. Hist. iii. 235.

now Downpatrick) the following churches, which were formerly at one time or another superintended by bishops, viz, Rathcolpa, now Raholp; Nendrum, now Mahee Island, in Lough Strangford; Maghbile, now Moville; Beannchair, now Bangor; and Rathmurbuilg, now Maghera, about 9 miles S.W. of Downpatrick. In like manner we find in Connor as it stands at present, the ancient sees of Connor, Airthirmuighe, (now Armoy,) Cuilrathain, (now Coleraine,) Rechran or Rathlin Island, &c.; and so of the other sees of Ireland. From the scanty records of such matters which remain to us, the Rev. Wm. Reeves has collected the names and obits of 38 bishops who flourished in Churches now included in the union of Down, Connor, and Dromore, before the settlement of the dioceses at Rathbrea-sail, *i. e.* in the period from A.D. 493 to A.D. 1118.*

From a slight glance through the recorded obits of the eminent clerics connected with any of those ancient sees, we may easily see the truth of the assertion already made, that the Coworba, or successor of the founder of the Church, was in some cases abbot, sometimes bishop, and sometimes both. Thus in the case of the see of Down, the most ancient obits on record

The cowarb of any particular ecclesiastical foundation at one time a bishop, at another time not.

* *Antiq. of Down, &c.* pp. 138, seqq., 237, seqq.

in connection with its Church are the following:—

- “Æ.C. 583. St. Fergus, bishop of Dunlethglas, died.
 Æ.C. 748. Scanlan, of Dunlethglas, died.
 Æ.C. 775. Macniadh, son of Kellach, abbot of Dunlethglas, died.
 Æ.C. 785. Dungal, son of Laeghaire, abbot of Dunlethglas, [died.]
 Æ.C. 795. Longsec, son of Fiachra, abbot of Dunlethglas, [died.]
 Æ.C. 823. Suibhne, son of Fergus, abbot of Dunlethglas, anchorite, and bishop, [died.]”*

The same holds also with regard to Connor, Dromore, Nendrum, and the other old sees in general.

Settlement
of the sees
at Rath-
breasail,
(List No. I.)

An account of the distribution of the sees, as arranged at the time of the first plan for their general settlement at Rathbreasail, is given at p. 452 sup., and need not be dwelt on in this place.†

Sir J.
Ware's ac-
count of the
old Irish
sees, as set-

The following statement “Of the ancient disposition of the bishoprics of Ireland,” as they were settled at the Council of Kells and subse-

* ib. 144, 145.

† Only we may observe that in the lists as given from Keating, &c., in the body of this work, there appears to be some little confusion. While there are enumerated in them as subject to Armagh *twelve other dioceses*, the number mentioned for Leth Mogha, *besides Cashel*, seems to be only eleven; unless we reckon the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, (apparently united in this list.) or two of those intended, or adopt some other such mode of explaining the matter. Vld. Bren. Ec. Hist. of Ireland, i. 298.

quently, is taken from Sir James Ware's "Antiquities of Ireland," ch. xvi. pp. 39 seqq. Dublin, 1705. titled at Kells, and subsequently, (No. 2.)

"We have passed the Irish Parnassus, and now let us visit the episcopal sees. John Paparo, presbyter Cardinal, intitled St. Laurentius a Damaso, Legat from Pope Eugenius III. was sent into Ireland with 4 Palla, which (as we have said) in a synod held in the month of March 1152, he delivered to the 4 archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. As to the place where this synod was held, authors vary. Some say it was in the Abbey of Mellifont, others at Kenanuse, or as we call it, Kells. In that synod to each archbishop was assigned a certain number of suffragans, which in Cencius Camerarius's *Census Camerales*, we find thus disposed:—

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

The Bishopricks of	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Conner Dumdaleghias Lugud Cluainiard Connanas Ardachad Rathboth Rathlurig Damliag Darrich </div> </div>	or as they are since called,	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Conor Down Louth, or Clogher Clonard Kells Ardachad Raphoe Rathlury Duleek Derry </div> </div>	List of Suffragans under the Archbishop of Armagh.

"Of this disposition some things are to be observed. For in the more modern times, not long after the coming of the English in Ireland, the sees of Clonard, Kells, and Duleek were united, and the bishops called bishops of Meath, those sees being situated there. Likewise the see of Rathlury [*i. e.* Maghera] was united to the see of Derry. As to the see of Louth, the bishop thereof was sometime called bishop of Louth, sometime of Clogher; Some notes of Sir J. Ware on this catalogue.

for though those two were originally distinct, yet at last they were united, and so continued till the time of David O'Brogan, bishop of Clogher, in the time of Henry III. For then all the Deaneries of Ergal which were heretofore subject to the bishop of Louth or Clogher, together with the Church of Louth, were taken from it, and united to the diocese of Armagh. Concerning which we have extant the action of the said David, dated at Perusium, in the Id. of August 1252, commenced against Reiner, archbishop of Armagh, though to no purpose. Lastly in this distribution, (which is not to be omitted) there is wanting the sees of Dromore, Clonmacnoise, and Triburnia; which last was afterward called Kilmore, from the time that Andrew (Brady, if I mistake not,) bishop of that place, about the year 1453, with consent of Pope Nicholas V. erected the parochial church of S. Felim of Kilmore into a Cathedral. As to the order of sitting among the suffragan bishops of Ireland in councils and elsewhere, the bishop of Meath had the first place, the bishop of Derry the second, and the rest took their places according to the time of their ordination.

**Suffragans
of the Arch-
diocese of
Dublin;**

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

The Sees of	{	Clendelach Fern Cainic Leghlin Childar	}	now called	{	Glendelagh Ferns Osseory Leghlin Kildare

“The see of Glendelach, which in the bull of Pope Lucius III. dated in 1182, (obtained by John Comm archbishop of Dublin,) is called the bishopric of the Islands, was afterward united to the see of Dublin, in the time of Henry Loundres, archbishop of Dublin. Some say that the see of Ferns was heretofore subject to the see of Menevia in Wales, but we pass such imaginary conceits.

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

Of the province of
Cashel;

The Sees of	{	Cendalnan	} now called {	Killalow
		Limerick		Limerick
		Inisla Gathay		Iniscatti
		Cellumabrach		Kilfenoragh
		Ole-Imlech		Emly
		Rose-green		Roscrea
		Waltifordian		Waterford
		Lismor		Lismore
		Clualnvanian		Cloin
		Corcaia		Cork
		Ross Allither		Ross
		Ardfert		Ardfert

"Of these the see of Iniscatti, after the coming of the English was united to the See of Limerick, and that of Roscrea to Killalow: so likewise the sees of Waterford and Lismore were united, and those of Cork and Cloin, and Emly and Cashel.

UNDER THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

and of
Tuam.

The Sees of	{	Mageo	} now called {	Mayo
		Cellalaid		Killala
		Roscoman		Roscoman
		Cluanfert		Clonfert
		Ached		Achonry
		Cinani		Clonmacnoise
		Cell-mun-duac		Galway, or Kilmacogh

"Of these the see of Mayo was afterwards united to that of Tuam, as also (though omitted in the distribution) that of Enaghduin. Likewise the see of Roscoman was translated to Elphin, and that of Cluan was united to the province of Armagh, after a long debate at Rome between the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam. For I cannot but think that Cinani is corruptly there read for Cluana, (commonly Clonmacnoise,) both for the affinity of the name, and propinquity of that see, being divided from the Province of Tuam only by the river Shenan . . . There are likewise other episcopal sees in

Ireland, before the coming of Paparo, whereof mention is made in writers, as of the see of Trim, Slehti, Slane, Lusca, Ardmore, Ardsrath, and to omit others, Saigre. But those partly in the synod above mentioned, partly soon after, were added to other sees."

How Derry happens to be inserted in the above enumeration.

On the above list Dr. Lanigan observes that it is odd that the see of Derry is there named among those which existed at the time of the Council of Kells, as it appears that there was no regular episcopal see in that place until A.D. 1158. But he expresses in the same place a reasonable doubt as to whether the suffragan sees enumerated by Cencius were exactly the same as those fixed by the Synod of Kells. For this Cencius Camerarius, who was afterwards Pope Honorius III. completed his *Census Cameriales* (from which the above enumeration is extracted) only in A.D. 1192, and so, many years after the holding of the synod.* (See Lan. E. H. iv. 148, 149, 345; Bren. i. 328.)

Another list of the ancient Irish sees, from Camden. (No. 3.)

The following is another list of the ancient episcopal sees of Ireland, extracted from an old Roman Provincial by Camden, and given in his *Britannia*, at p. 735, Lond. 1607. (Gibson's Camden Lond. 1722. Col. 1329) Lan. ut sup.

* The omission of Elphin from the same enumeration was owing probably to its having been already united with the see of Roscommon. And a like reason will account, with equal probability, for the absence of the name of Down, as comprised in the see of Down, or perhaps Armagh.

Archiepiscopo Armachano totius Hybernulæ Primati subeunt :—	Midensis vel Elnamirand Dunensis <i>alias</i> Dundalethglas Clochorensis <i>alias</i> Lugundunensis Connerensis Ardachadensis Rathbotensis Rathlucensis Dalnliguirensis Dearrihensis	Archiepiscopo Casiliensi subeunt :—	Leoniensis de Kendaluan Limricensis De Insula Gathay De Cellumabrath Melicensis vel de Emilleth Rosiensis <i>alias</i> Roscreensis Waterfordiensis <i>alias</i> De Baltifordlan Lismorensis Clonensis <i>alias</i> De Cluanania Corkagiensis De Rosalither Ardefertensis
Archiepiscopo Dublinensi parent :—	Glendelacensis Fernensis Osseriensis <i>alias</i> De Canic Lechlincensis Kildarensis <i>alias</i> Darensis	Archiepiscopo Tuamensi subeuntur :—	Duacensis <i>alias</i> Kilmaeduoc De Mageo Enacodunensis De Cellaiaro De Rosecommon Clonfertensis Achadensis Ladensis <i>alias</i> Killaeth De Conany De Kilmunduach Elphinensis

The following tabular view of the ancient bishoprics of Ireland is taken from Vol. 2 of the *Tracts relating to Ireland*, published by the *Irish Archaeological Society*, and comprehends, as will be seen from inspection, six lists of our old sees, derived from various sources, as mentioned at the head of each column. They include, it will be observed, among the rest, the Rathbreasail catalogue, which has already been given to the reader in a former page of this work.

Catalogues of the old sees of Ireland, from the 'Tracts' of the Irish Archaeological Society. (Nos. 4-8.)

<i>Names of Bishoprics as given by Dymmok in 1599.</i>	<i>Names of Bishoprics as given by Camden from an old Roman Provincial.(a)</i>	<i>As given by Bingham Ecc. Ant. v. 2, p. 391, from a P.R. published by Car. a Sto. Paulo.(b)</i>
DUBLIN Glandalon Kildare	DUBLINENSIS Glendelacensis Kildarensis <i>alias</i> Daren- sis	DUBLINENSIS Glendelacensis Darensis
Leighlin Ossory	Lechlinensis Osseriensis <i>alias</i> de Ca- nic	Licelinensis Ossinensis
Ferne	Fernensis Caldetensis <i>or</i> Kiscaren- sis	
TOAM Dua	Glensis <i>or</i> Gluisonensis Gaininch TUAMENSIS Duacensis <i>alias</i> Klimac- duoc	TUAMENSIS Dumensis
Alade (c) Elifne Kilmakou (d)	Ladensis <i>alias</i> Killaleth Elphnensis	Bladensis Neifnensis
Clonfert	Achadensis Clonfertensis De Mageo Enachdunensis	Achadensis Cluarifertensis Demagionensis Eadunensis
	De Cellaiaro De Roscommon De Conany (e)	Decellaid Roscommon Deconairi
	De Killmunduach De Culuanferd	Decelmundaiaich
CASSEL Emely Waterford	CASSILIENSIS Melicensis <i>or</i> de Emileth Waterfordensis <i>or</i> de Baltifordian	CASSELLIENSIS Demilech <i>or</i> Umblicensis Waterfordensis
Rismor Cork	Lismorensis Corkagiensis	Lismorensis De Coneagia <i>or</i> Corka- gensis
Clone	Clonensis <i>or</i> de Cluana- nia	Deduanamensis <i>or</i> Clu- anensis
Ross Ardagh Laom <i>alias</i> Killalo	De Rosalither Ardefertensis Laoniensis de Kendaluan	De Rosalithir Artfertelensis Decendalunensis <i>or</i> Lao- nensis

<i>As given by Hoveden, Annals, A.D. 1172.</i>	<i>As given by Keating at the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1118, v. 2, p. 267.</i>	<i>Modern names.</i>
DUBLINENSIS Bistaghensis Kindarensis	Glindaloch Kildare	DUBLIN Glendaloch Kildare
Leghglensis Erupolensis	Laghlin Killicullin	Leighlin Ossory
Fernensis	Fearna or Wexford	Ferns Kildare ?
TUAMENSIS	TUAM	Leighlin ? Canice or Ossory ? TUAM Kilmacduagh
Kinlathensis Aelfinensis	Killala	Killala Elphin Kilmacduagh
Achathkourens Kilferiensis Maigonensis	Cluainfrearta	Achonry Clonfert Mayo Enaghdune or Annagh- down Killala Roscommon Clonmacnoise or St. Kieran Kilmacduagh Clonfert Mayo
Coneversis	Conga Ardcarne CASHEL Emiloch Iobhair Waterford and Lismore Cork	CASHEL Emly Waterford
CASHLENSIS Ingmelleccensis Waterfordensis		
Lismorensis		Lismore Cork
Cluanumensis		Cloyne
Rosensis Archferdens Kildarensis ?	Rathmaighe Delagirt Killaloe	Ross Ardfert Killaloe

<i>Names of Bishoprics as given by Dymnuk in 1599.</i>	<i>Names of Bishoprics as given by Camden from an old Roman Provincial.</i>	<i>As given by Bingham Ecc. Ant. v. 2. p. 391. from a P.R. published by Car. a. Sto. Paulo.</i>
Lymrik Fimabor	Limricensis De Cellumabrath? Rossiensis or Roscreensis De Insula Gathay	Lunech Firmaberenis, or Fymbarrensis Derostreenis or Widdfordianus De Insula Laudensis Garthax (f) Tubricensis Decelliminabrach Deartifertensis
ARMAGH Meath	ARMACHANUS Midensis or Elnamirand	ARMACHANUS Elualnirand or Midensis
Ardakan Dromory	Ardachadensis	Deardarchad Dunensis or Drumorensis
Down	Dunensis or Dundaletglas	Dunensis or Drumorensis
Connor Dere Rapaton Turbrunen Cloha	Connerensis Dearrihensis Rathbotensis Clochorensis or Lagundunensis Rathlucensis Dalnigulirensis Deconnannas Renensis or Revelensis or Crocorensis Cluanensis or Cluanerensis Rochinosensis or Rathbotensis Artagadonensis or Ardacadensis Heugamensis	Connerineasis Dedarrich Deralboth Ingundunum Derathlurig Dedamliallagg

<i>As given by Hoveden, Annals, A.D. 1172.</i>	<i>As given by Keating at the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1118, v. 2, p. 267</i>	<i>Modern names.</i>
Lucaniansensis	Limerick	Limerick Kilfenora
	Arcmorensis	Roscrea Ardmore Inniscatty Leonensis, Killaloe? Inniscatty? Kilfenora Kilfenora Ardfert Aghadoe ARMAGH Meath } Clonard } Ardagh Dromore
ARMACHENSIS Cinencrardensis	ARDMACH Cinain Ioraird	
Ardabachdensis <i>Odanus</i> *		
Thuenensis	Dun de leath Glass	Down
Chonderensis	Coinne	Connor
Charensis	Derry	Derry
Ratphotensis	Brenacain? Clochar	Raphoe Kilmore (g) Clogher
	Ardaratha Dambhlag	Ardstraw or Rathlure Duleek Kells Urielensis or Clogherensis Clonard or Clonmacnoise Raphoe Ardagh Lugadensis? Louth or Clogher

* Edan or Odo O'Kelly, bishop of Clogher, 1129-1182? ("Ortel.") 4 M. 1182.

(a) Ware's list from Cencius Camerarius agrees nearly with this, [and that from Camden already given appears to be abridged from it.]

(b) This list is given to shew the strange forms which names may assume, when often transcribed by persons not acquainted with them. The same sees are repeated in it under names made different by readers and transcribers.

(c) *Aladensis*, the proper Latin, occurs in no list here.

(d) Kilmacow, Irish name for Kilmaedugh, *already given*.

(e) In Ware Cinani, fors pro Ciarani, seu K. of Clon.

(f) N.B.—Two sees here made of Iniscatty.

(g) Kilmore, anciently Brefniensis, and Triburnensis.

Other lists
of the Irish
sees from
the Usher
MSS. in the
Library of
T.C.D.
(No. 9.)

Our next catalogue of these old sees, forming the ninth in this collection, is one copied from a manuscript of Archbishop Ussher's, E. 3, 16, Trinity College Dublin, where it is distinguished by the following inscription, "Ad calcem practicæ Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, excus. Lugduni, A.D. 1549." It includes some of the usual blunders.

"A PROVINCIAL OF ALL THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES IN THE WHOLE
WORLD.

"*In the realm of Hybernia or Islandia [Irelandia?]*

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAH HAS THESE SUFFRAGANS.

Dundeleгалensis
Mirdensis
Argadensis
Bathugurensis
Darcikensis
Dondalerkian
Tubernensis
Drumorensis

Lugdunensis
Conuarensis
Bachabonensis
Damilgiriarensis
Cluanaensis
Lulmdinaensis
Cluenaia

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN HAS THESE SUFFRAGANS.

Gledoralensis
 Offoriensis
 Kildarensis *vel* Darensis

Fetruensis
 Leglinensis

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL HAS THESE SUFFRAGANS.

Laoniensis *vel* Limricensis
 Finabrensis

De Insula Cathay

Dekerna
 Rossensis
 Lismorensis
 Corkarensis
 Lumbricensis

Imilicensis
 Vatrafordensis
 Clonensis
 Derossylcbricit

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM HAS THESE SUFFRAGANS.

Duacensis
 Guachdunensis
 De Cholam
 Achadensis
 Decelmundnach

Demageo
 De roecomon
 Clonfertensis
 Alachdensis
 Elinensis."

In the same MS. from which the preceding list is taken, there are given three other lists of the ancient sees of Ireland in the handwriting of Archbishop Ussher. The third which seemed to agree with Ware's, it was thought unnecessary to transcribe for the present article. The other two are those which here follow, and the prefatory note which accompanies them is from the same MS. and the same hand in which they are transcribed.

"In a MS. belonging to the Community of the Friars ^{(List} No. 10.)

Minor of Kilkenny, written before the year 1350, I find the two following catalogues of the bishops of Ireland.

"The second of them is as follows:—

"IN THE PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.
THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

- 1 Waterfordensis
- 2 Lismorensis
- 3 Clonensis
- 4 Corkagensis
- 5 Rossensis
- 6 Ardferrens [Kerry] (MS.)
- 7 Limericensis
- 8 Leoniensis
- 9 Imelacensis
- 10 Fynaborensis .i. Corkumroht

"IN CONNAUGHT THE ARCHBISHOP
OF TUAM.

- 1 Duacensis .i. Kilmadoht
- 2 Enadunensis
- 3 Aladensis .i. Kyllaleht
- 4 Achadensis .i. Athranon
- 5 Maymonensis .i. Mayon
- 6 Elphinensis
- 7 Clonfertensis

"IN LEINSTER THE ARCHBISHOP
OF DUBLIN.

- 1 Fernensis
- 2 Ossoriensis
- 3 Lohtlinensis
- 4 Darenis

"IN ULSTER THE PRIMATE OF
ARMAGH.

- 1 Mydensis
- 2 Ardacadensis
- 3 Clonensis .i. Clonmacnoys
- 4 Rathbotensis
- 5 Derensis .i. Dere Columkille
- 6 Clokerensis .i. Clokers
- 7 Conerensis
- 8 Dunensis
- 9 Dromorensis .i. Dromor
- 10 Sonensis .i. Brefeni

"(Vulgo Breny: ubi Epa. Kilmorensis. In the Register of Milo Archbishop of Armagh it is called Triburnensis.) Thus in the said vol. fol. 47 a, Vicar of Kilmore, dioc. Triburnen."

"The former catalogue runs thus:—

(No. 11.)

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

- 1 Conerens.
- 2 Dunens.
- 3 Midens.
- 4 Ardacadens.
- 5 Clonensis .i. Clonmacnoys
- 6 Rahtbotens.
- 7 Derens .i. Der Colukyl
- 8 Dromorens.
- 9 Sonens .i. Breffinle

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

- 1 De Glandelaht
- 2 Fernens.
- 3 Kilcannich .i. Ossoriens
- 4 Lehtlinens.
- 5 Darenis .i. Kildare

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL.

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Leonens. | |
| 2 | Waterfordens. | |
| 3 | Lismorens. | |
| 4 | Emelacens. | |
| 6 | Lymricens. | |
| 6 | Laoniens. | In an ancient re- |
| 7 | Corkegens. | gister are :— |
| 8 | Clonens. | De Insula |
| 9 | Rosens. | De Cathar |
| 10 | Artfertensis | De Cellumabracht |
| 11 | Finaborensis | De Roscre |
| | | De Dunaman |

"THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1 | Duacens. .i. Kylmadoht |
| 2 | Enacdurens. |
| 3 | Aladens. .i. Kyldaloht |
| 4 | Acadens. |
| 5 | Maymonens .i. Mayon |
| 6 | Elfinens. |
| 7 | Clonfertens." |

In addition to the eleven lists now given to the reader, two others will be found at Articles **XXXIX.** and **XXI.** of this appendix ; and some further illustrations of the subject in Artt. 17, 18, 20, 24, 25 and 48.

When Tarquin the Proud would take Gabii by subtlety and craft, he intimated the plan of reducing the place to his son's messenger by striking off the tallest poppyheads in his garden ; a suggestion which has been put in practice in regard to the Church of Ireland also by her enemies. Rome and England in the first instance reduced her hundreds of bishoprics to the forty or so mentioned in the previous lists ; and the precious Church legislation of these modern times has packed up the forty, like worthless remnants of old goods belonging to some cast stock, into some ten parcels, to be superintended (if not rather, in the necessity of the case, to be over-

Note on the damage accruing from state influence to the Irish episcopate.

looked) in the lump, by ten individuals, as though each one of those large episcopal districts, with its widely scattered flock, were too contemptible to occupy the entire care and attention of a whole person to itself.

No. X.

OF THE MODE OF ORDAINING BISHOPS IN USE AMONG THE ANCIENT IRISH.

Consecration by the hand of a single prelate common among the early Irish Christians.

It would appear from the evidence of the most ancient and respectable authorities which we can bring to bear on the subject of episcopal ordination among the old Irish Christians, that it was a general practice with them to have their prelates consecrated by a single bishop, instead of by three, as was usual in other parts of the Church. This circumstance, with others not unworthy of our attention, is set forth in an interesting light in the following extract from the Life of St. Kentegern, bishop of Glasgow, by John of Tinmuth, a writer who flourished in A.D. 1366. (See Ussher's *Brit. Ec. Ant. cap.* 15; Jocelin, in Pinkerton's *Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 223, Lond. 1789; and MS. E. 3, 8, fol. 160, Lib. T.C.D.)

Instance of this practice in the case of St. Kentegern, first bishop of Glasgow;

“ Now when S. Kentegern, residing in the place aforesaid, was very eminently distinguished for his great abundance of spiritual gifts, the king and clergy of the Cambrian territory, with the other Christians there, though they were but very few in number, came together

by divine direction; and having held a consultation as to the best means of improving the condition of the Church, which had by this time been well nigh utterly destroyed, they all by unanimous agreement came to St. Kentegern, and elected him for pastor and bishop of their souls; while he for his part, offered much opposition to the proceeding, and suggested many difficulties. For he was objecting against their election, that a youthful age like his was not well adapted to the office. But they silenced this objection by referring to the sedate gravity, [as] of hoary hairs, which marked his demeanour, and the abundance of wisdom and knowledge which he possessed.

"Accordingly they set about introning him; and *having sent over for one bishop from Ireland, according to the usual custom of the Britons and Scots of that time,* they caused him to be consecrated for their pontiff (*i. e.* bishop.) It had become the practice in Britain, in the consecration of pontiffs, merely to anoint their heads by pouring on the sacred chrism, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the benediction, and imposition of hands; a mode of performing the rite which these foolish people used to say that they had adopted *on the authority of the divine law, and from the tradition of the apostles.* But although the way of consecration used among the Britons may seem to be less in accordance with the sacred canons, it is not however convicted of destroying thereby the energy and effect of the divine mystery, or of the episcopal office. And as these islanders, dwelling in a place that lies beyond the very world's end, had after the outbursting of the pagan invasion, become ignorant of the canons, the judgment of the Church, feeling compassion for their condition, admits their apology thus far. But in these times she does by no means allow of any person's presuming upon a rite of such a form, without grave censure. St. Kentegern however, although he

who received consecration from one Irish bishop.

J. Tinmouth's apology for this irregularity;

not allowed by him to apply generally in all cases.

was consecrated in this manner, yet afterwards fully complied with all that could be deemed necessary for the completing or correcting of the ceremony; of which by and by.

Account of
Kentegern's
life, &c., at
Glasgow.

"His Cathedral seat he fixed in the aforesaid town of Deschu, interpreted '*illustrious family*,' which is now called Glaschu. And there he gathered round him a very numerous family, illustrious and beloved of God, consisting of servants of the Lord, who followed a life of continence, and regulated themselves according to the model of the primitive Church under the apostles, abstaining from private property, and giving their attention to holy discipline and the service of God. And his episcopal diocese extended as far as to the bounds of the Cambrian realm, i. e. from that famous wall formerly built by the Britons from sea to sea for a defence against their enemies, to the river Forth and the Scottish channel.*

Limits of his
diocese.

Character of
his disciples.
Their way
of life, &c.

"This man of God then had collected a large number of disciples, whom he instructed in the sacred contents of the Divine Law, and educated them by precept and example for a life of holiness; having purposed to appoint certain of them to be his fellow-labourers in the Lord's harvest. These all were emulous with a godly emulation to imitate his life and doctrine, accustoming themselves to fastings and holy watchings, giving their earnest attention to psalms and prayers, and meditations upon lessons from the Word of God; contenting themselves with a middling sort of diet and raiment; and employing themselves at certain times and hours in manual labour. And while after the custom of the primitive Church under the apostles and their successors,

* The Cambrian realm here spoken of is not of course *Wales*; but the country inhabited by the northern *Cambri* or *Cumbri*, (*Cumberland* men,) the extent of which in St. Kentegern's time is above described.

they possessed no private property, and were wont to lead a very sober, righteous, and godly life, as well as one of strict continence, they did nevertheless, at the same time, like Kentegern himself, live apart from one another in the separate abodes to which they belonged. and in which they had set themselves to pursue their course of study and mental culture; whence they used to be called singular clerics, and popularly, *Culdees*.

Origin of
the name
Culdees.

"Seeing then that Britain had been visited with so many calamities, and Christianity therein so often overcast with clouds, or even utterly destroyed; there had sprung up there at various periods various rites opposed to the system of the Holy Church of Rome, and the decrees of the Holy Fathers. In order then to become possessed of the knowledge and ability required for obviating and remedying all these evils, B. Kentegern on seven different occasions started from his monastery aforesaid, and made his way to Rome.

Kentegern
visits Rome.

"On one occasion however he visited Rome while B. Gregory was presiding over the apostolic see, &c. To this most holy chief pontiff he gave a full account of his entire life, his election to the pontificate, and consecration, and all the circumstances which had occurred to him, in their due order. And this holy pope who was mighty in the spirit of counsel and discretion, as having been filled with the Holy Ghost, when he observed him to be a man of God, and full of the grace of the Holy Ghost, confirmed his election and consecration, as he had the assurance that both had proceeded from God's appointment. And in compliance with his own often repeated request, which was with difficulty obtained, he supplied whatsoever was defective in his consecration, and sent him forth to the work of the ministry assigned to him by the Holy Ghost.

His kind
reception by
P. Gregory
the Great.

"The Holy Pontiff Kentegern, having received the apostolic absolution and benediction, returned home

What he
brought
home with
him.

again, bringing over with him volumes of the canons, and a great many other books of Holy Scripture; and also privileges, and many remembrances of the saints, and church ornaments, and other matters useful for the furnishing of the house of God."

Note on these extracts from *Tinmouth*.

Passing over the antiscriptural tendency of these extracts in regard to apostolic poverty, Roman supremacy, &c., they are interesting as illustrative of the old Irish and British notions of Church discipline in some particulars; and also as making the name of "Culdees" on which so much has been said and written, originate with the disciples of the first bishop of Glasgow.

The Irish reproved for their mode of consecration by the English primates Lanfranc and Anselm.

The charge, "that bishops are consecrated by a single bishop" was one of those brought against the Irish by Lanfranc of Canterbury in his letter to Turlogh, A.D. 1074. And again Anselm, in or about 1100, writing to Muriardach, king of Ireland, makes a similar complaint. "It is stated," says he, "that bishops are elected every where in your country, and appointed to their office without any fixed episcopal district; and that the bishop is ordained by a single bishop like any presbyter."* And the same circumstance is also strikingly brought before our notice in a well known legendary anecdote of St. Columbkille, who went, as we are informed, to

Their system illustrated in the case of St. Columbkille.

* pp. 424, 432 sup.

Etchen, bishop of Clonfad, for the purpose of being ordained bishop by him, although in the end he was made only a priest instead.*

Now to excuse the ancient Irish for following a practice so contrary to the general usages and laws of the Catholic Church, it has been suggested, and much leaned upon by some, that those Irish prelates who received ordination from a single bishop, were not themselves cathedral bishops, but chorepiscopi, or coadjutor-bishops, nominated to labour in rural districts; in whose case such a mode of ordination would be in no way uncanonical. For while the First General Council of Nice, by its 4th Canon, required that there should be at least three bishops present at the consecration of the former, (although the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons say, three or two,) the council of Antioch permits the chorepiscopus to be ordained by the bishop of the city within the jurisdiction of which his district lay. The following is Lanigan's view of the matter, given at (vol. ii. p. 128) in connection with the story of Columba aforesaid.

Dr. Lanigan's explanation of their conduct.

"Whether the anecdote be true or not, it seems to indicate that it was not unusual in Ireland to have persons consecrated by one bishop. And yet it is certain that

His notions about the multiplicity of chorepiscopi.

* Lanigan's Ec. Hist. ii. 126.

copi in Ireland in primitive ages, &c.

the Irish clergy were well acquainted with the decrees of the Council of Nice and others on this subject. To explain this seeming paradox we must observe that the order of *Chorepiscopi* was very general in Ireland. They were undoubtedly, at least very many of them, invested with episcopal powers; although being subordinate to the regular bishop in whose diocese they were stationed, they were not allowed to exercise some parts of them without his permission. Now these *chorepiscopi* used to be ordained or consecrated by the bishop, properly so called, or ordinary of the diocese, without his being bound to apply for the assistance of other bishops. See the 10th canon of the Council of Antioch, and Bingham (Orig. Ec. Book 2, ch. 14, s. 5,) who adds, that the city bishops (ordinaries) were accountable for the ordination of the country bishops (*Chorepiscopi*) to a provincial synod. In the case of Columba it is very natural to suppose, that the intention was to make him simply a *chorepiscopus*, so as to entrust him with the care of the rural district adjoining Dairmagh (Dunrow;) and accordingly it was not necessary to apply for his consecration to more bishops than one. As the Irish had but one name for bishops and *chorepiscopi*, it is often difficult to know whether persons mentioned in our Church History were ordinaries of dioceses or of that subordinate class. If we read of their having been consecrated by only one bishop, we may justly conclude that they were only *chorepiscopi*. Or if we find them, as is often the case, moving from one country or province to another, a similar inference may be drawn," &c.

The intention, in Columba's case, what?

Such views apparently destitute of any solid foundation in the facts;

Now although these notions appear to be regarded with some degree of favour by my learned friend the Rev. W. Reeves (Ecc. Ant. p. 127,) I cannot but confess that to me they appear

utterly unfounded. I see no proof whatsoever that the old Irish observed any distinction between ordinaries and chorepiscopi. If they knew any thing about the peculiar office of the latter, it might perhaps with almost as much appearance of reason be asserted that all their bishops were chorepiscopi, excepting him of Armagh. But if such an order had existed, I suppose Lanfranc and Anselm would have been as likely to have been aware of the circumstance, and to have made all due allowance for it, as Dr. Lanigan, or any of the moderns. And if it were possible for such an order to have been very prevalent in Ireland, without those famous and learned English primates being aware of it, the charge might in that case have been easily refuted by an explanation of the matter on the part of any of the Irish authorities, and then it would not have been repeated as it was.

and rather
contrary to
the state-
ments of
history.

It is true that the Irish may have been acquainted with the triple mode of consecration, and used it on some occasions, especially such of them as laboured in other countries, as in England for instance; a case of which has been brought under our notice in the consecration of Cedd mentioned in the preceding article. One other instance of the kind, occurring in Ireland itself, is cited by the Rev. W. Reeves from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick; in which it is

The Irish
although
not adopt-
ing gene-
rally the
triple mode
of consecra-
tion, may
still have
known
somewhat of
its use else-
where.

stated that "he set over the Church of Tamney, Bishop Carellus, whom according to the custom of the Church, Patricius, Bronus, and Bitæus ordained to his episcopal office."* But were this even stated on a more satisfactory authority, it would not serve the argument very much. It might shew that the Irish knew something of the rule or practice followed elsewhere; but this would only make the contrast of their general carelessness about it the more remarkable.

NOs. XXXI.—XXXIII.

OF THE INTERCOURSE WHICH SUBSISTED BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF IRELAND AND THOSE OF ENGLAND IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION OF IRELAND.

NO. XXXI.—OF THE IRISH EXPEDITION TO ENGLAND UNDER THE SONS OF KING HAROLD.

Of the intercourse existing between England and Ireland in the ages preceding the Conquest.

The records of history furnish us with some interesting information relative to the intercourse maintained before the Conquest between the Irish people and their neighbours in the isle adjacent. It is a subject which belongs properly indeed rather to the secular than to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland; but seeing how little attention appears to have been directed to

* *Trias Thaum.* 125.

it in any of those modern works in which it might have been more suitably introduced, it appears worth while to set forth here some particulars relating to it, which, especially as connected with the Anglo-Norman invasion of this country, cannot fail to prove interesting to the reader. The earliest writing to which we shall now direct attention in connection with this subject is the following extract from ORDERICUS VITALIS (Ec. Hist. Lib. 4) in the "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores*" of Duchesne, Lut. Par. 1619. The passage occurs in the History of William II. A.D. 1068, p. 513. (N.B. Ordericus wrote in the twelfth century.)

"The two sons of Harold king of England, vexed at having seen their father put to death, and themselves banished out of the country, had taken refuge with Dirmet king of Ireland.* By means of his co-operation and that of the princes of the realm, they were enabled to raise an auxiliary force, and return to Exeter with sixty-six vessels freighted with troops well armed. Then advancing inwards from the shore they commenced ravaging the country with considerable audacity, and raging about with fire and sword, made use of every endeavour to perpetrate as much mischief as possible. Upon this Brien, son of Eudo count of Bretagne, and William Fitzgerald, advance on them without loss of time to encounter them in arms; and in two conflicts engaged in on the same day, they reduced a tremendous multitude to

Orderic's account of the Irish expedition to England under the sons of Harold.

* Or rather, "a king of Ireland." This was the celebrated king of Leinster, Dermot Mac Maol-na-mbo, who was killed in battle in Meath, A.D. 1072. Vid. Lan. iii. 474.

such a scanty handful, that the remnant which retreated made their escape in two boats, and filled Ireland with lamentations. And only that night interrupted the battle, not even a messenger to tell the news of the slaughter would have escaped home to his native soil. Such fortune justly befel sons who sought revenge for a tyrant father, and the parties who became their abettors in such a design."

W. Gemmet's account of the same enterprise noticed.

A similar account is furnished by *Willelmus Gemmeticensis* in his *History of the Normans*, (Lib. 7, cap. 41, p. 290, tom. eod.) where he adds, that there were slain upon this occasion "a thousand and seven hundred warriors, with some princes of the realm of Ireland."

The subject of this intercourse between England and Ireland in the times immediately before the Conquest will be found illustrated with further particulars and other interesting extracts in the articles which follow.

NO. XXXII.—LETTER OF MURCHARDAON (I. O. MURTOGH O'BRIEN*) KING OF IRELAND TO PRIMATE ANSELM.

King Murtoth thanks Primate Anselm for his kindness to his son-in-

"Murchardach, king of Ireland to Anselm, arch-bishop of the English, greeting and faithful obeisance.

"What ample acknowledgments am I bound to render unto you, my lord, for that, as I am informed, you make remembrance constantly in your prayers of me a

* Vid. pp. 428, 429, sup.

sinner. And besides this, you have given to my son-in-law Arnulphus the benefit of your aid and interference, as far as was consistent with your own dignity. Be assured that you shall find me also ready to act as your servant in such matters as you shall be pleased to make the subject of your commands. Fare you well."

Upon this epistle the notes of Ussher are as follows :—

"Ernulf, whom Murchardach here calls his son-in-law, is Arnulph de Montgomery, the original invader of Pembroke and lord of that region, (which is called *Diweta* and Western Wales,) son to Roger de Montgomery first earl of Salop and Arundel.* Concerning him Giraldus Cambrensis writes in his *Guide through Cambria* (lib. 1, cap. 12,) '*Arnulph de Montgomery under Henry I. king of the English, was the first who built a castle in Pembroke, a rather unsubstantial one, of hurdle work and scraes. Which afterwards, on occasion of his returning into England, he gave over in charge to a trusty and prudent individual, Gerald de Windsor, his constable and standard-bearer, with a few men for a garrison ;*' i. e. to that Gerald from whom the earls of Desmond and Kildare, and the other families of the Giraldines [or Fitzgeralds] in Ireland derive their origin. Arnulph having afterwards revolted from Henry I. (together with his brother Robert de Belesme, Earl of Salop,) passed over into *Ireland* with a view to obtaining auxiliary forces for strengthening his cause against his own sovereign ; and there he took to wife the daughter of king Murchart or Murchardach, as Caradoc of Lhancarvan also testifies in the History of A.D. 1101 and 1102. The issue of the conspiracy William of Malmesbury expresses in these words (lib. 5, de

Archbishop Ussher's notes on this Epistle, and account of the above Arnulph.

How Arnulph came to be allied by marriage to king Murtogh.

* See the *Annals* in the next Article *inf.* at A.D. 1091, seqq.

Regibus) 'Robert with his brothers Arnulph, (who had inherited his father's title,) and Roger of Picardy (so named from having married a wife out of that country) renounced England for ever; but the stringency of the oath given to this effect was qualified by the addition of this clause—unless at some future time he shall have given satisfaction to the king's pleasure by his good conduct.' This narrative is necessary for enabling us to understand the little epistle above given, which we have copied from a MS. volume of letters written by Anselm."

Curious observation of W. of Malmesbury, concerning the relations existing between England and Ireland in the age of 'Murcard' and Henry I.

The following curious passage of Malmesbury's, occurring in his *Life of Henry I.* not only for its connection with what precedes, but also on account of the general purport of its contents, will be read with interest. (*Vid. Rer. Angl. Scrip. post Bed. Lond. 1596, fol. 91.*)

"So far did our Henry secure the attachment of Murcard king of Ireland, and his successors (whose names fame hath not promulgated) that they would write nothing but what would gratify and flatter him, and do nothing but what he would bid them. Albeit Murcard is said, for what cause I know not, to have exhibited for a few days a little high temper towards the English; although he soon calmed the swelling passion of his bosom when a stoppage of sailing and shipping intercourse was threatened against him. For what would Ireland be worth if no commodities were to be conveyed thither by sea from England. So starved of every kind of useful produce is the soil outside the cities, from the penury, and the ignorance of its cultivators, with its wild and squalid multitude of Irish occupants. But the English and French people who reside in the market

cities for the purpose of carrying on business, maintain a more civilized kind of life."

Thus it appears that even at this period there were not only Danes, but English and French people also living within the towns of this island—(*hostis habet muros*). No wonder then that the Anglo-Norman invaders prospered famously in mastering the cities of Ireland, thus establishing themselves in the strongholds of the country, and leaving the natives to carry on as they might the debasing and weakening exercises of a bootless and fatal guerilla warfare in the rural districts.

The residence of the Normans in Ireland favourable to the invasion.

No. XXXIII.—EXTRACTS FROM THE HISTORY OF WALES BY CARADOC OF LLANCARVAN, AS EDITED BY D. POWELL, D.D.

Mention has been made in the preceding Article of the Chronicles of Caradoc of Llancarvan, as throwing light on the early history of our own country. From the rare old English version of this work, prepared in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, we have drawn for the reader's information the copious extracts that here follow; which are rendered peculiarly interesting to the student of Irish history, from the close analogy existing at the time alluded to between the respective circumstances of the two coun-

Extracts from Powell's Edition of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

tries Ireland, and Wales, as connected with the invasions of the Norman aggressors. The title of the work from which the extracts are made is as follows :

Title of the work.

" The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales ; a part of the most famous Yland of Brytaine, written in the Brytish language about two hundreth yeares past : translated into English by H. Lhoyd, gentleman : corrected, augmented, and continued out of Records and best approved authors by David Powel Doctor in Divinitie. Lond. 1584."

The address " To the reader" contains much instructive matter illustrating the work itself and its subject. In it we are informed that

Powell's account of the original Annals, and of his edition of them;

" Caradoc of Lancarvan collected the successions and actes of the Brytish Princes after Cadwallader [who died A.D. 688] to the yeare of Christ 1156. Of the which collections several copies were kept . . . which were yearelie augmented . . . until the year 1270 . . . a little before the death of the last Llewelyn who was slain at Buelht. These collections were copied by divers, so that there are at this daie of the same in Wales a hundred copies at the least, whereof the most part were written two hundred years ago.* This book Humffrey Lhoyd gent . . . translated into English, and partlie augmented, chieffie out of Matthew Paris and Nicholas Trevet. The copie of his translation the Rt. Honble. Sir Henry Sidney Lord president of Wales . . . had lying

* It is be regretted that there is no copy of this curious record, in the original tongue, to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

by him a great while, and being desirous to have the same set out in print sent for me in September last, requesting me to peruse and correct it, in such sort as it might be committed to the press:"

which accordingly after some hesitation Powel undertook to do. Touching his motives, he says—

"The second thing that mooved me thereunto, is the slanderous report of such writers as in their books do inforce everie thing that is done by the Welshmen to their discredit, leaving out all the causes and circumstances of the same; which doo most commonlie not onelie elevate or dissemble all the injuries and wrongs offered and done to the Welshmen, but also conceale or deface all the actes worthie of commendation atchieved by them. Search the common chronicles touching the Welshmen, and commonlie thou shalt find that the king sendeth some nobleman or other with an armie to Wales, to withstand the rebellious attempts, the proud stomachs, the presumptuous pride, stirre, trouble, and rebellion of the fierce unquiet craking fickle, and unconstant Welshmen, and no open fact laid downe to charge them withall, why warre should be levied against them, nor yet they swarving abroad out of their owne countrie to trouble other men. Now this historie dooth shew the cause and circumstances of most of those warres, whereby the qualitie of the action may be judged, and certeinlie no man is an indifferent witness against him whom he counteth his enimie or adversarie, for evil will never speaketh well. The Welshmen were by the Saxons and Normans counted enimies, before the twelfth yeare of Edward the first, while they had a governour among themselves: and afterward, when king Edward had brought the countrie

which he was led to undertake, partly in order to do justice to the Welsh, and vindicate their character from the aspersions of English writers.

The rebellious temper of the Welsh created by the tyranny and cupidity of English rulers;

to his subjection, he placed English officers to keepe them under, to whome most commonlie he gave the for-faits and possessions of such Welshmen as disobeied his lawes, and refused to be ruled by the said officers: the like did the other kings that came after him. The said officers were thought oftentimes to be over-severe and rigorous for theire owne profit and commoditie; which things caused the people often to disobeie, and manie times like desperate men to seeke revengement, having those for their judges which were made by their overthrow, and also wanting indifferencie in their causes and matters of griefes; for the kings alwaies countenanced and be-lieved their owne officers, by them preferred and put in trust, before their accusers whom they liked not of. Whereupon the inhabitants of England, favouring their countriemen and freends, reported not the best of the Welshmen. This hatred and disliking was so increased by the stirre and rebellion of Owen Glyndoure, that it brought forth such greevous lawes, as few Christian kings ever gave or published the like to their subjects. These things being so, anie man may easile perceive the verie occasion of those parentheseis and briefe notes of rebellion and troubles objected to the Welshmen, without opening of cause or declaration of circumstances.

and by the necessity of defending their own against Anglo-Norman aggression.

"The Normans having conquered England and gotten all the lands of the Saxon nobilitie, would faine have had the lands of the Welshmen also, whereupon divers of them entred Wales with an armie, so that the Welshmen were driven for their owne defense to put themselves in armour; for the which fact they are by some writers accused of rebellion, whereas by the law of nature it is lawfull for all men to withstand force by force. They were in their owne countrie, the land was theirs by inheritance and lawfull possession; might they not therefore defend themselves from violence and wrong, if they could. What right or lawfull title had the Earle of Ches-

ter to Ryuonioc [now Denbighland] and Tegengl? or the Earle of Salope to Dyvet, Caerdigan, and Powys? or Rob. Fitz Hamon to Glamorgan? or Barnard Newmarch to Brechnoke? or Ralph Mortimer to Eluel? or Hugh Lacy to the land of Ewyas? or anie other of them to anie countrie in Wales? By what reason was it more lawful for those men to dispossesse them of these countries with violence and wrong, than for them to defend and keepe their owne? Shall a man be charged with disobedience, because he seeketh to keepe his purse from him that would robbe him? I meane not by this to charge those noble men, which wan these countries by the sword: but I speake it to note the parcial dealing of the writers and setters foorth of those histories, that should have reported things indifferentlie as they were done, and laid downe the causes and circumstances of everie action truelie, who being altogether parcial, favoring the one side and hating the other, do pronounce of the fact according to their private affections, condemning oftentimes the innocent, and justifieing the wrong doers," &c.

The extracts next following are from the *Chronicle* itself; where they may readily be found by the accompanying references to the year and page at which each occurs.

Extracts
from the
'Chronicle'
of Wales
itself.

A.D. 755 (p. 17.) "About this time there was an order taken for the right keeping of the feast of Easter in Wales, by Elbodius a man both godlie and learned: for the Brytaines ever before that time varied from the Church of Rome in celebrating the feast of Easter."

Introduc-
tion of the
Roman Easter
among
the Britons
A.D. 755.

A.D. 1031 (p. 88.) "About the yeare 1031 the Irish Scots entred South Wales, by the meanes of Howel and Meredyth, the sonnes of Edwyn ap Eneon ap Owen ap

Wales in-
vaded by an
Irish force
A.D. 1031.

VOL. III.

M

Conan son of Iago marries the daughter of an Irish prince, and invades N. Wales at the head of an Irish army
A.D. 1041.
which is defeated by the Welshmen.

He collects a second Irish force with no better success
A.D. 1050.

Harold son of Earl Godwyn, accused of treason, takes refuge in Ireland.

Conan, son of Iago, continues to live in Ireland
A.D. 1054.

His son Gruffyth invades Wales with a great army of Irishmen, &c., and he

Howel Dha, who hired them against Rytherch ap Jestyn, whom they discomfited and slew."

A.D. 1041 (pp. 92, 93.) "At this time Conan the son of Iago (who had fled to Ireland to save his life) with the power of Alfred king of Deuelyn, whose daughter Ranulph he had married, entred North Wales, and by treason had taken Gruffyth the king and caried him towards the ships; but when it was knowen, the countrie upon the sudden folowed the Irishmen, and overtaking them rescued their prince, requiting their foes with much slaughter to their ships who returned streight with Conan to Ireland."

A.D. 1050 (pp. 94, 95.) "In the years 1050 Conan the son of Iago did gather an armie of his friends in Ireland, minding to recover his inheritance againe, and as he sailed towards Wales, there arose such a tempest, that it scattered his navie abroade, and drowned the most part of his ships, so that he was disappointed of his purpose and lost his labour. Shortly after Robert Archbishop of Canturburie accused Earle Godwyn and his sonnes Swayne and Haroald of treason . . . who because they refused to appeare being called before the king, were banished the land . . . whereupon Godwyn with Swayne fled to Flanders, and Haroald to Ireland"

A.D. 1054. Below this date we read, (pp. 103, 104,) "After the decease of king or prince Gruffyth, Meredyth the sonne of Owen . . . did take upon him the government of South Wales, and Blethyn and Rywalhon . . . did govern North Wales, Conan the son of Iago being all this time with his father in Ireland"

A.D. 1078, 9 (p. 114.) "In the year folowing Gruffyth the sonne of Conan did bring a great armie of Irishmen and Scots into Wales, and joined with Rees ap Theodor as two right heires of the whole countrie . . . against whom came Trahaern ap Caradoc, &c. . . who in those daies were the chiefe rulers of all Wales. And

. . . they fought a cruel battle. . . But at the length the victorie to Gruffyth and Rees, and Trahaern with his cousens were all slain and the most part of their people. Then the kingdomes of Wales came under the rule of the right heires again."

and Rees ap Theodor gain the sovereignty of their country.

A. D. 1078.

From the annals given under the reign of this Gruffyth ap Conan here mentioned are taken all the extracts which next follow, as far as to that connected with A.D. 1137 inclusive.

A.D. 1087 (p. 116.) "In the yeare 1087 William Bastard king of all Brytaine and Duke of Normandie died, when he had left never a noble man of English bloud within England, but had robbed, spoiled, slaine, or banished them all, and given their lands to his owne men."

Death of William the Conqueror and censure of his oppression of the English.
A. D. 1087.

(p. 117.) "The same yeare all the sonnes of Blethyn ap Conwyn, sometime king of Wales gathered their strength together against Rees ap Tewdor, who not being able to meete with them, fled to Ireland, and there he purchased himself great freends, and got an armie of Irishmen and Scots, to whom he promised great rewards, when he should obtaine his kingdome and so landed in South Wales with these strangers. Which when his friends hard of they drew to him, and the other came in all hast, thinking to fight with him before his power should increase, and at Lhechryd they gave him battell, where they were discomfited, and two of the brethren slain, to wit, Madoc and Riryd, and the other fled."

Rees ap Tewdor driven out of his principality, recovers dominion by the aid of an Irish army.

A.D. 1091 (pp. 151, 152.) "At this time Cadogan ap Blethyn ap Conwyn destroyed all Dyuet in the end of April: and shortlie after the same summer, the Normanes in great companies landed in Dyuet or West Wales and Cardigan, and builded castels there, and so began to inhabite the countrie upon the sea shoare."

The Normans begin to make aggressions on the Welsh territories.
A.D. 1091.

* "The Normans having gotten into their hands all the lands and livings of the nobilitie of England, began to spie out the commodities of Wales; and seeing that Robert Fitzhamon, and the other knights that went with him had sped so well they made sute to the king to grant them the lands of the Welshmen. Whereupon the king, thinking that to be the best waie for him, as well to incourage them to be the more willing to serve him, as also to provide for them at other mens cost, granted to divers of his nobles sundry countries in Wales, to hold of him by knyght service; for the which they did homage and sweare fealtie unto him as foloweth:

Rise of the family of Montgomery to power in Wales.

"1. Roger Mountgomery, Earl of Arundel and Salope did his homage for the lordships of Powys and Caerdigan.

"3. Arnulph a younger sonne of Roger Mountgomery for Dyuet. &c."—(*Powel's additions.*)

Gruffyth ap Conan attacks the Norman invaders, and inflicts much loss on them.

"Then Roger de Mountgomery, to whom the conqueror had given the Earledom of Arundell and Salopshurie or Shrewsburie entred into Powysland, and wan the castell and towne of Baldwyn, which he fortified, and called it Mountgomery after his own name. . . The same yeare Gruffyth ap Conan king of North Wales, with Cadogan ap Blethyn, who then ruled South Wales entred the land of Cardigan, and killed a great number of Normanes, being not able anie longer to suffer their pride and crueltie . . . [and shortly after again] Cadogan [returned and] spoiled the countrie of Caerdigan and Dyuet, and

destroyed all the castels saving two, which were Penbrooke and Rydcors, which he could not get, and so returned to Powys with much joie."

A.D. 1093 (pp. 152, 153.) "Then William Rufus . . . gathered his power together, and entered Wales at Mountgomery, which castell being latelie overthrowne by the Welshmen he re-edified again."

Wm. Rufus makes an expedition into Wales. A. D. 1093.

* A.D. 1094 "About this time Roger Mountgomery, Earle of Salope and Arundell . . . [was] slaine by the Welshmen."—(*Powel*.)

Eod. [The Normans having suffered much loss] (pp. 154-6.) "Then the ancient dwellers enjoied their countreies againe quietlie. Moreover certeine lords of North Wals . . . with the children of Cadogan ap Blethyn of Powys land, gathered a number of men, and passed through Cardiganshire to Dyuet (which countreie the king a little before had given to Arnulph sonne to Roger Mountgomery, who had builded there the castle of Penbrooke; and appointed keeper and steward of the same one Gerald de Windsore) and there burned, spoiled and destroyed all the countreie, saving the said castell of Penbrooke which they could not winne, and so returned home with great bootie, &c."

The Welsh making head against the Normans, Gerald de Windsor defends Arnulph Mountgomery's castle of Pembroke against their assaults.

"The yeare folowing William Rufus returning from Normandie to England, and hearing of the great slaughter of his men doone by the Welshmen, gathered all his power, and with great pompe and pride entred Wales. But the Brytaines fearing the great strength of the king, put their hope onlie in the Almighty Lord, turning to him in fasting, praier and repentance of their sinnes; and he that never forsaketh the penitent and contrite hart, heard their praiers; so that the Normanes and Englishmen durst never enter the land, but such as entred were all slaine, and the king returned with small honor after he had built certain castels in the marches.

Threatened with a new invasion by Wm. Rufus, they apply to the Almighty for help; and succeed in repelling the enemy. A.D. 1094-5.

Hugh Montgomery Earl of Arundel, &c., and Hugh Earl of Chester entering N. Wales.

A. D. 1096.

Griffith and Cadogan send over to Ireland for succour ;

and at length sail thither themselves.

Death of Hugh Montgomery.

The Welsh princes Gruffyth and Cadogan return

A.D. 1096, "The yeare following being 1096 Hugh de Mountgomerie Earle of Arundell and Salopshurie . . . and Hugh Earle of Chester, and a great number of nobles more, did gather a huge armie, and entred into North Wales, being thereto moved by certeine lords of the countrie. But Gruffyth ap Conan the prince, and Cadogan ap Blethyn tooke the hills and mountaines for their defense ; bicause they were not able to meete with the Erles, neither durst they well trust their owne men. And so the Erles came over against the Ile of Môn or Anglesey where they did build a castell of Aberlhiennawc. Then Griffith and Cadogan did go to Anglesey, thinking to defend the Ile, and sent for succour to Ireland : but they received verie small. Then the treason appeared, for Owen ap Edwyn (who was the princes cheefe counsellor, and his father in law, whose daughter Gruffyth had married, having himself also married Everyth the daughter of Convyn, aunt to Cadogan) was the cheefe caller of those strangers into Wales, who openlie went with all his power to them, and did lead them to the Ile of Anglesey ; which thing when Gruffyth and Cadogan perceived, they sailed to Ireland, mistrusting the treason of their owne people. Then the Earles spoiled the Ile, and slew all that they found there. And at the verie same time Magnus the sonne of Haroald came with a great navie of ships towards England, minding to laie faster hold upon that kingdome than his father had doone, and being driven by chance to Anglesey, would have landed there, but the Earles kept him from the land. And there Magnus with an arrow stroke Hugh earle of Salop in the face that he died thereof."

A.D. 1096. "In the year 1096 returned Gruffyth ap Conan and Cadogan ap Blethyn from Ireland, and made peace with the Normanes, and gave them part of their inheritance ; for Gruffyth remained in Môn, and Cadogan had Cardigan and a peece of Powys land. About

this time the men of Brechnock slew Lhwelyn the sonne of Cadogan. Then Howel ap Ithel of Tegengel, went to Ireland. Also Rythmarch archbishop of St. Davids, sonne to Sulien (bishop) died, the godliest, wisest, and greatest clerke that had beene in Wales manie yeares before, saving his father, who had brought him up, and a great number of learned disciples." (p. 156.)

A.D. 1101 (p. 157.) "In the yeare 1101 Robert de Belesmo sonne to Roger de Mountgomery Earle of Salope, and Arnulph his brother Earle of Penbrooke did rebell against the king, which when the king heard, he sent for them to come to him, but they made blind excuses, and gathered their strength, and fortified their castels, and then gave great gifts and made large promises to the sons of Blethyn ap Conwyn, Iorwerth, Cadogan, and Meredyth, and intised them to joine their powers to theirs. Robert had fortified four castels, Arundell, Tekinhill, Shrewsburie and Brugge, which castell was the cause of the warre: for Robert had builded it without the king's leave, and Arnulph fortified his castell of Penbrooke. Then they entred the king's land, and burned and spoiled it, carieing awaie rich booties. And Arnulph to have more strength, sent Gerald his Steward to Murkart king of Ireland, to desire his daughter in marriage, which he obtained with promises of great succours, which did encourage him the more against the king."

(pp. 158, 9.) Then the king gathered a great army, and partly by force and partly by treachery, hiring to his aid "Iorwerth, the greatest man of power in Wales," he entirely discomfited the Earls, and drove them out of the kingdom, to Normandy.

On this occasion the monarch, to make Iorwerth

home from Ireland.

A. D. 1098.
Character of
Rythmarch
and Sulgen,
abps. of St.
David's.

Arnulph
Montgome-
ry, Earl of
Pembroke,
rebellling
against
Henry I.

A. D. 1101,

forms an al-
liance with
'Murkart'
king of Ire-
land, by
marrying
his daugh-
ter ;

but is forced
with his bro-
ther Robert
to flee to
Normandy.

Jorwerth defrauded of his promised reward.

"more willing to strike unto him gave him all such lands as the Earl and his brother had in Wales without tribute or oth, which was a peece of Powys, Cardigan and half Dyuet . . . but the king when he saw all quiet forgate the service of Iorwerth, and his owne promise, and contrarie to the same tooke Dyuet from Iorwerth and gave it to a knight called Saer." (p. 158).

The Metropolitan Church of St. David's loses its independence.

* "About this time the Church of Menevia or St. David's, ever before the Metropolitan Church of all Wales, began to be subject to the see of Canterbury."—(*Powel*, p. 160.)*

The Normans unable to subdue the Welsh in open fight, have recourse to base and atrocious treachery.

A. D. 1103.

Howel ap Grono assassinated by an intimate friend at their instigation ;

"A.D. 1103 (p. 161.) "At this time the king did take the rule of Dyuet from Saer, to whom he had committed the same, and gave it to Gerald, who had been sometime Steward there under Arnulph. Then the Normans, who were in the castell of Rydcors, and other castels thereabouts, seeing they could not have the upper hand of Howel ap Grono in open fight, fell to their accustomed practise of treason, and so obtained their purpose in this manner. There was one Gwgan ap Meyric, who had nursed a son to Howel ap Grono, and therefore verie well trusted and leaved of him as the manner of Wales is. This traitour (being corrupted by the Normanes) procured his maister's death, bidding him one night to his house to make merrie, whither he came gentlie, then Gwgan gave notice thereof to the garrisons of the castels, who in the dawning of the daie entred the towne, and comming about the house, gave a great showte, wherewith Howel awoke, and couragiously leapt out of his bead, and sought his weapons, but the traitour Gwgan had conveyed them awaie when he was asleepe. Then he called for his men, but they were all fled to save their lives: and as he would have

* See more on this head under A.D. 1113 *inf.*

gotten awaie, he was taken by Gwgan and his companie, and strangled, whose bodie he delivered to the Normanes, which cut off his head, and brought it to the castell of Rydcorse. And this traitorous murder of the kings lieutenant was left unpunished. For whatsoever fault the Normanes committed was alwaies winked at; and if the Welshmen did never so little offend the lawes of the king, it was thought an heinous fault; which was the cause that afterwards they rebelled against the king who sought nothing but their utter destruction."

A.D. 1108 (pp. 162, 3.) "The yeare 1108 the rage of the sea did overflow and drowne a great part of the lowe cuntry of Flanders, in such sort that the inhabitants were driven to seeke themselves other dwelling places, who came to king Henrie, and desired him to give them some void place to remain in; who being verie liberall of that which was not his owne gave them the land of Ros in Dyuet or West Wales, where Penbrooke, Tenby, and Haverford are now built, and there they remaine to this daie as may well be perceived by their speach and conditions, farre differing from the rest of the cuntry. At that time Gerald Steward did build againe the castell of Penbrooke in a place called Congarth Vechan, and brought thither all his household stuffe, and other goods, with his wife and children."

King Henry bestows lands in Wales on certain foreign settlers from the continent of Europe.

A.D. 1108.

Then immediately follows an account of the manner in which Owen the son of Cadogan ap Blethyn, being overcome by passion for Nest, the beautiful wife of Steward Gerald, entered the castle privily, having a friendly connection with the lady's family, and having secured the abduction of herself, &c., set the place on fire,

Abduction of Nest, wife of Steward Gerald, by Owen ap Cadogan :

* See this charge against the Norman race confirmed in Art. XIX. *inf.*

who being
in danger of
punishment
makes his
escape in an
Irish ves-
sel ;

spoiling also the adjacent country. "Now when Cadogan heard this, he was verie sorie, and feared the king's displeasure, and forthwith went to Powys, and willed his son to send home to Gerald his wife and children with his goods ;" (p. 164) which however Owen would not do, except as regarded the children. Thereupon Richard, bishop of London, "whom the king had oppointed Warden of the Marches" hired certain chieftains "to bring him Owen and his father either alive or dead." But on the advance of the enemy "Cadogan and Owen gat a ship at Aberystwyth, which was latelie come from Ireland and escaped away." (p. 165.)

and is hos-
pitably re-
ceived by
king Mur-
cart.

"Then Owen, with such as had been with him at the burning of the castell, fled to Ireland to king Murcart, who received him joiouslie ; for he had been there before in the time of the warre of the two Earles in Anglesey or Môn, and had brought the king rich gifts from Wales. But Cadogan hid himself privilie in Wales, and sent to the king to declore his innocencie. Then the king was content he should remaine in the countrie, and enjoy the towne and lands that he had by his wife, for she was a daughter to a lord of Normandie called Pygot de Say." (pp. 165, 166.)

He and his
accomplices
return to
Wales.

Eod. p. 166. "Within a while Cadogan made such freends to the king, that paieing 100 pound fine, he should enjoy againe his lands in Caerdigan, and that the inhabitants should return againe to their houses and till the ground. . . . When they that were in Ireland understood this, they returned home privilie, and hid themselves in their coosens houses, and shortly after Owen re-

turned againe to Wales; but not to Caerdigan; for his father had received that land upon such condition, that he should not suffer Owen to come therein, nor succour him, either with counsell, money, or men."

Then Owen, joining with Madoc, occupied himself in "burning and spoiling the Englishmen, and Normanes," until at length being repulsed in their inroads, they found it necessary to flee, "Owen to Caerdigan to his father's country, and Madoc to Powys." (p. 168.)

His doings there.

A.D. 1109 (p. 168.) "Then Owen with his companions made diverse roads to Dyuet, and spoiled the country, carieng awaie the men and the cattell to the ships that they came in from Ireland, and after ransomed them, and gathered a great number to him, and set upon a town of Flemings and burned it, and returned to Caerdigan, nothing esteeming his fathers danger nor the king's displeasure. At this time it chanced that Owen's men among other mischeefes laid wait for a bishop that was towards the king whose name was William de Brabant, and slew him and all his men. Then Iorwerth and Cadogan were at the court to speake with the king, concerning certaine businesse of their owne; and as the king talked with them, behold there came in a Fleming, brother to the dead bishop, who made an exclamation, declaring how Owen ap Cadogan's men had slaine his brother and a great number moe, and how they were succoured in Cadogan's land. Then the king being therewith sore displeased asked Cadogan what he could say to the matter, and he putting all the fault in his son excused himselfe as well as he could. Then the king said to Cadogan, 'Seeing thou canst not keep thine owne, but that thy son and thy companions shal be re-

Owen ravages Dyvet; (A.D. 1109.)

burns a town of the Flemings;

murders a Norman bishop, &c.;

for which cause the

lands of his
father Ca-
dogan are
forfeited,
and given to

*Gilbert
Strangbow
Earle of
Strygill;
who reduces
the country
to obe-
dience.*

Owen re-
turning
from Ire-
land is par-
doned and
patronized
by the Eng-
lish mo-
narch.

Gilbert
Strangbow,
instigating
King Henry
to lead a
strong force
against
Wales,
A. D. 1113 ;

ceived and succored therein in disorder. I will give it to one that shall keep them out, and I will keepe thee at my charges all thy life, charging thee upon thine allegiance, that thou enter not within Wales, until such time as I have taken further order.' And so the king gave him 20 daies, and set him at liberty to go whither he would saving to Wales. When Owen and Madoc heard this they departed to Ireland. Then the king forthwith sent for Gilbert sirnamed Strangbow, Earle of Strygill, which was a noble valiant and a worthe knight, to whom he said thus, 'Thou hast been divers times a suter to me to have some lands in Wales, and now I give thee all the lands and inheritance of Cadogan ap Blethyn, win it and take it.' Gilbert received it joiefullie, and thanked the king, and brought the countrie to his subjection without anie contradiction." (p. 169.)

Some time after Iorwerth having been slain, the king gave his land, *i. e.* Powys, to Cadogan, "and promised Owen his pardon, willing his father to send for him to Ireland." Cadogan however was presently murdered by Madoc. Owen came to the king soon after, from Ireland, was received in peace, and obtained his lands. (pp. 170, 171, an. 1110 apparently.)

A. D. 1113 (pp. 172, 173.) "The yeare following, king Henrie prepared an armie against Wales, being thereto provoked by such as would have the Welshmen's lands, that was Gilbert Strangbow Earle of Strygill, to whom the king had given Caerdigan, who made sore complaints upon Owen ap Cadogan, declaring that he received and maintained such as robbed and spoiled in his countrie. Also Hugh Earle of Chester said no less by Gruffyth ap Conan, prince of North Wales, how that his

men, and the men of Grono ap Owen ap Edwyn lord of Tegengl spoiled and burned the countrie of Cheshire, adding, to aggravate the matter that Gruffyth did neither owe service nor paied anie tribute to the king [Hen. I.]: wherefore the king swore that he would not leave one living creature in North Wales and Powys land, but destroe the land utterlie and put in new inhabitants. Then parting his armie into three bands; the leading of the first he committed to Gilbert, earle of Strigill, wherein was the whole power of all the South part of England and Cornwall against South Wales; the leading of the second had Alexander king of Scotland and Hugh Earle of Chester, wherein the power of Scotland and the North was, who went against North-Wales; and the king lead the third himselfe wherein was the strength of middle England. Then Meredyth ap Blethyn, hearing this, came and yielded himselfe to the king.

is himself appointed to the command of the first section of the English troops.

"But Owen fearing to commit himselfe to them which were so greedie of his lands fled to Gruffyth ap Conan to North Wales; whereupon the king turned all his strength that waie, and came himselfe as far as Murchastel, and the king of Scots as far as Pennant Bachwy; but the people fled to the mountaines and woods, and carried all their victuals and cattell with them, so that the king could not folow them; and such of his men as entered the land were either slaine or galled in the straites." [Peace was finally made "the Prince" paying much money.]

Result of this expedition.

Eod. (p. 175.) "At this time died Griffi bishop of Menevia, and the king made one Barnard a Norman bishop in his place, contrarie to the minds of all the clergie of Wales, who were alwaies accustomed to choose their bishop. At the same time there was a talke through South Wales of Gruffyth the son of Rees ap Theodor, who for feare of the king had been of a child

A Norman bishop intruded into the see of Menevia.

Gruffyth son of Prince Rees

ap Theodor, brought up in Ireland, and had come over two yeares educated in Ireland, returned to Wales; passed, which time he had spent privlie with his freends, kinsfolks, and affines, as with Gerald, steward of Penbrooke, his brother-in-law, and others."

and excites much commotion and war in the country.

This youth presently A.D. 1115 raised a great rebellion and mightily damaged the Normans and their parts of the country (pp. 176-178.) Dyvet at this time was "full of Normans, Flemings, and Englishmen. There were also manie strangers in Caerdigan, which ruled that countrie, but yet the people hated them, not forgetting the wrongs that they had received at their hands." Gruffyth continued to do great damage and spoil in Caerdigan, until checked and repulsed by Ralph "Erle Gilbert's Steward" from the castle of Aberystwyth. The disorders and broils of the country did not however end here. (pp. 180 seqq.)

Deaths of William Strongbow; King Murcart; and of the two princes Gruffyth ap Rees and Gruffyth ap Conan.

A. D. 1187.

A.D. 1116 (p. 183.) "This yeere died William Strongbow of a consumption."

A.D. 1120 (p. 184.) "In the yeare 1120 died Murcart, the worthiest and greatest prince in all Ireland"

A.D. 1137 (p. 190.) "The yeare 1137 died Gruffyth ap Rees ap Theodor, the light, honor, and staie of South Wales. . . . Also towards the end of the same yeare, died Gruffyth ap Conan, king or prince of Northwales, the onelie defense and sheeld of all Wales after he had escaped many great dangers by sea and land in Ireland and Wales, and after manie worthie victories, and after he had brought Northwales which he found full of stran-

gers, to peace and quietnesse, having ruled the same worthilie 50 yeares."

A.D. 1142 (pp. 196, 197.) A quarrel arose in this year between Cadwalader and Owen Gwyneth (prince of N. Wales) the two sons of Gruffyth ap Conan, in consequence of the death of Anarawd, son of Gruffyth ap Rees, who was slain by the former;

A quarrel between the sons of Gruffyth ap Conan is the means of bringing another Irish army into Wales
A. D. 1142;

"For the which thing prince Owen took such displeasure at his brother, that he and his sonne Howel gathered an armie against him and destroyed all his countrie, and burned his castell at Aberystwyth. For Cadwalader himselfe had fled to Ireland, and had hired Octer (sonne to Octer) and the sonne of Turkel, and the sonne of Cherulf, with a great number of Irishmen and Scots for 2000 markes to his succour, and landed at Abermenay in Carnarvonshire, against whom the prince came with a greate power; but before the armies met, there was a peace concluded betwixt the brethren. Which when the Irishmen understood, they withheld Cadwalader as prisoner for their wages, and he delivered them 2000 heads of cattell besides manie prisoners and spoiles that were taken in the countrie. But as soon as the prince knew his brother set at liberty, he fell upon the Irishmen, and slew a great number of them, and recovered all the cattell with the prisoners and other spoiles: then as manie as escaped alive returned home with great slaine and loss."

which meets in the end with defeat and loss.

A.D. 1143 (p. 198.) "About this time Gilbert earle of Clare came to Dyuet, and built the castell of Carmarthyn," &c. [But this was not the only castle of Gilbert's which presently fell into the hands of the Welsh.]

Gilbert de Clare builds Carmarthyn castle.

A.D. 1147 (p. 201.) "The yeare 1147 died Gilbert Earle of Clare."

His death.

End of the
Annals of
Caradoc.

A.D. 1155 (p. 205.) "Terdelach king of Conacht in Ireland died "

p. 206. "At this time Caradoos Lhancarvan endeth his collections."

A. D. 1155.
Roger, Earle
of Clare, ob-
tains a grant
of lands in
Wales

A.D. 1157 (p. 208.) "Roger Earle of Clare came to the king [Henry II.] and desired his highnesse to give him such lands in Wales as he could win, which the king granted. Then he came with a great army to Caerdi-gan," [fortified various castles for himself, &c., which were however shortly after demolished by Rees and the Welsh. p. 209.]

A. D. 1157 ;

which after
taking pos-
session of
them, he
loses again

A.D. 1163 (p. 220.) "The Lord Rees . . . entred the lands of Roger de Clare, Earle of Gloucester . . . and . . . in short time . . . brought all Caerdigian to his subjection."

A. D. 1165.
Movements
of Henry II.
at this time
noticed.

A.D. 1165 (pp. 222, 223) "Then . . . the king came the third time towards North Wales, intending to have his armie conveyed by sea, and to land in some convenient place of the countrie, and so he came to Chester, and there laie a certeine time till all his navie was gathered together, as well hired ships of Ireland as his owne, and upon the sudden he brake up his campe, and gave both ships and men leave to depart. The same yeare Rees prince of South Wales laid siege to the castle of Aber-teivi and wan it . . . at which time he took prisoner Robert the sonne of Stephen [his coosen germane]. . . . About the same time Dermot the son of Murchart was chased out of his dominion in Ireland, and went to Nor-mandie to king Henry for succour."

Expulsion
of Dermot
Mac Mur-
rough from
the king-
dom of
Leinster.

Commence-
ment of the
Anglo-Nor-
man Inva-
sion of Ire-
land

A.D. 1167. "This yeare Robert the sonne of Stephen constable was released out of his cousins the Lord Rees his prison, and was sent to Ireland with a great power to succour Dermot son to Murchart, who landed at Loch Garmon,* and wan and so went forward."

A. D. 1167.

* i. e. Wexford. See p. 497 of the present work. It will be observed that the years as noted in this Welsh Chronicle disagree with the correct ones as there given.

* This Robert Fitz Stephen, Moris Fitzgerald his brother, and their nephues Robert Meyler and Raymond, with an armie of Welshmen under the conduct of Richard Strangbow Earle of Strigule were the chiefe captaines and dooers in the conquest of Ireland, when it was first reduced under the subjection of the crowne of England.—*(Powel.)*

A.D. 1169 (p. 229.) “Also Richard Strangbowe Earle of Strigul went to Ireland without the king’s leave, and married the daughter of Dermot king of Dublyn; wherefore the king seased all his lands in England to his own hands, and Dermot died shortly after and was buried at Ferna.”

Ed. Strongbow's expedition to Ireland.

A. D. 1169.

Eod. (pp. 230, 232.) “Then the king called his nobles to consult about the enterprise of Ireland which had beene before determined to be taken in hand. To this consultation came messengers from Richard Strangbowe, Earle of Strigule, Marshall of England: to deliver to the king’s hands the citie of Dublyne and the towne of Waterford, with such other townes as he had by the right of his wife: whereupon the king restored to him again his lands in England and Normandie, and made him steward of Ireland, and so it was concluded for the kings going to Ireland. When the king was in his journey towards Ireland, the Lord Rees come to the king, who received him to his peace, and confirmed unto him all that he had. Then Rees promised the king towards his conquest of Ireland 300 horses, and 400 oxen, and gave him fourteen pledges. Then the king came to South Wales; [where some of his proceedings gave occasion to trouble and disturbances in the country, but Henry notwithstanding] kept on his jounie to Pen-

Proceedings of Henry II. preparatory to and connected with his expedition to Ireland.

He arrives
at Dublin,
and winters
there.

brooke, and there he gave Rees all Caerdigan, &c. . . . Then Rees . . . came to Penbrooke in the Calends of October, and spake with the king. The daie after . . . the king went to St. David and . . . dined with the bishop David, the son of Gerald, coosen German to Rees : whither Richard Strangbowe earle of Strigule come from Ireland to speake with the king, and after dinner the king returned to Penbrooke. Within a while after . . . the morrowe after the feast of S. Luke the Evangelist, the king tooke shipping there, and had faire passage to Ireland, and so landed at Dublyne, where he laie quietlie that winter. The Christmasse folowing, Henrie the yong king kept a solemne feast, where William S. John procurator of Normandie, and William Fitzhamon seneschall of Brytaine and 110 besides were made knights. In the year 1172 there fell a great plague among the kings souldiours in Ireland, by reason of the change of the aire and victuals, and therefore the king returned and landed at Wales in the Passion week."

It will be at once seen how strikingly these extracts illustrate the portion of our history to which they refer. Many interesting notes and reflections might here be added in connection with this topic. But the length of the extracts themselves is such as to forbid any further enlargement of them by way of comment. Only we may add that as the margin of the chronicle does not include every year of our Lord, but only some of them, the transactions recorded under certain ones of the dates must belong not precisely to that year under which they appear

to be given, but occasionally to a subsequent one included between that one and the next occurring in the margin.

No. XXXIV.

LETTER OF THE BURGESSES OF DUBLIN TO RALPH, ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, A.D. 1122.

The following is the letter of the citizens of Dublin to Ralph of Canterbury, alluded to at p. 433 of this work. It occurs as No. 40 in the Sylloge, and is also to be found MS. in the Library T.C.D., E. 3, 13, with this heading, "At the foot of the Collection of Decretals by Isidore Mercator (in the Cotton Library) transcribed shortly after 1125."

*Letter of
the Bur-
gesses, &c. of
Dublin to
Ralph, Abp.
of Canter-
bury.
A. D. 1122.*

"To the most reverend and most religious Lord, Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, All the burgesses of the city of Dublin, and the whole body of the clergy, wish eternal health.

"Seeing, holy Father, that a welllearned reputation for the deepest piety gains for you the veneration of multitudes, and that you have secured the esteem and attachment of all faithful people by your earnest faith and soundness of doctrine, we judge it to be meet, that we should send over to you, Gregory, by the grace of God our bishop elect, [in order that he may receive consecration at your hands]. For we have ever voluntarily subjected our [prelates] to the control of your predecessors, as remembering that it was from that quarter

*The occasion of their
addressing
him.*

that our [chief pastors originally] received their ecclesiastical dignity.

Jealousy of the Irish prelates on account of their proceedings.

“Know you however for certain, that the bishops of Ireland entertain towards us the very greatest jealousy, and in particular that bishop who has his residence at Armagh, in consequence of our unwillingness to submit to their ordination, and our preferring to continue always in subjection to your authority. We therefore humbly supplicate your assistance in advancing Gregory to the sacred order of the episcopate, if you be disposed any longer to retain the charge of that parish, which we have now preserved to you for this considerable time past. Fare you well.”

No. XXXV.

IRISH ACCOUNT OF THE SYNOD OF KELLS.

Account of the Synod of Kells, from “The Four Masters.”

The account of the Synod of Kells furnished in the Irish *Annals of the Four Masters*, as published by Dr. O’Conor, although very meagre and unsatisfactory, is not without interest. The original passage will be found in the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. pp. 770, 774, 775, ad ann. 1151, 1152, (Buckingham, 1826.) In the translation of it here subjoined we follow Dr. O’Conor’s Latin version.

Arrival of C. Paparo in Ireland.

“A.D. 1151. A Cardinal belonging to Peter’s vicar, by name Jn. Papiro, came into Ireland, to institute regulations and ordinances, and to reform all matters accord-

ing to their exigencies. He spent a week in the house of the cowarba of Patrick in Armagh.(1)

"A.D. 1152. A synodal meeting was held in Drogheda of the bishops of Ireland, with the cowarb of Patrick, the Cardinal John Papiro, and 3000 ecclesiastics, monks, and canons. They introduced on that occasion several regulations pertaining to morals, to this effect;—that the men must banish their mistresses and concubines;—that no allowance must be asked for extreme unction or for baptism; (and yet that it was not well that nothing should be given, seeing that they were instituted for the benefit of men;)—that nothing should be taken for conferring ecclesiastical orders;—and that tithes should be punctually paid.(2)

Of the matters transacted at the Synod of Kella.

On these passages O'Connor has the following notes :—

Dr. O'Connor's notes on the above.

"(1) The principal cause of Paparo's coming to Ireland was to introduce Roman rites and to confer the four palls on the four archbishops of Ireland. His arrival some refer to A.D. 1152. [Wrongly, vid Lan. iv. 141.]

"(2) This first mention of tithes should be carefully noted. For neither in these nor in the other Irish annals is there any where mention made of Church property, down to this year 1152, under any other denomination than the episcopal tribute of Armagh, which is called the *Riar Patraicc*, and the episcopal tribute of Derry called the *Riar Coluimcille*. Other churches as well as these had their *lands* assigned to them of old by the kings, which went by the name of *Termon*, i. e. (*Terræ immunes*) freelands, and *nemeadh*, as above at A.D. 1148. The word *Riar* signifies the king's land, or portion, or donation, such as the old churches were endowed with by the kings in ancient times."

Original of Church property in Ireland.

Neimheadh,
what?

Neimheadh is explained by O'Brien "glebe-land," *quasi neamh-iaith*, holy or consecrated land, (*iaith*, land.)

Moore's ac-
count of the
Synod of
Kells re-
ferred to.

On the subject of this article Mr. Moore observes, that besides the distribution of the palliums, &c., the chief affairs that appear to have occupied the Synod of Kells were some enactments against simony and usury, as well as against the prevalence of marriage and concubinage among the clergy, &c. See Art. LXXVI. *inf.*

Note con-
cerning the
place where
the assem-
bly was
held.

An anonymous writer, (quoted by Ware, Lan. iv. 141, 2,) in giving the transactions of the Synod of Kells, asserts that it was held at "*Mell*," (vid. p. 532 sup. not.) which may have been a mistake of the transcriber; but which seems to have been the cause that led some to suppose that the synod was held at Mellifont, as they understood *Mell* to mean. Kells was however certainly the place. "Yet it may be," says Lanigan, "that after Cardinal Paparo's departure some of the bishops assembled again at Mellifont, under the presidency of Christian, who was then apostolic legate; and thus perhaps we may account for the singular statement of the Annals of Innisfallen at A.D. 1152, that the synod was held at Drogheda, or as some have said, *ad monasterium pontanense*, inasmuch as

Mellifont, being not far from Drogheda, might have been called its monastery."

The old book of Flan Mac Eogan says that "it was in violation of the rights of the clergy of Patrick and Columbkille that the pallium was given to the church of Dublin, or even to that of Tuam."* This word "even" seems to imply, "although the latter dignity being situated among the Irish, the injury was in this case qualified, at least in appearance, by the honour done to a native see; while in the case of Dublin there was a pure exaltation of foreign, at the expense of 'mere Irish' influence."

The arrangements at Kells partly offensive to the native people of Ireland.

No. XI.

BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV. TO KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND, GRANTING HIM LIBERTY TO TAKE POSSESSION OF IRELAND, &c.

"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our wellbeloved son in Christ the illustrious king of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

Pope Adrian salutes Henry II. very graciously:

"Your Highness is contemplating the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious fame on earth, and augmenting the recompense of bliss that awaits you in heaven, by turning your thoughts, in the proper spirit of a Catholic prince, to the object of widening the boundaries of the Church, explaining the true Christian faith

congratulates him on his pious aggressions on Ireland:

* O'Connor, *Eer. Hib.* Prol. ii. p. 159; Reeves, *Ant. of Down*, &c. 141.

to those ignorant and uncivilized tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the Lord's inheritance. In which matter, observing as we do, the maturity of deliberation, and soundness of judgment, exhibited in your mode of proceeding, we cannot but hope that proportionate success will, with the divine permission, attend your exertions.

expresses
his interest
in the suc-
cess of the
expedition :

"Certainly there is no doubt, but that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your grace also admits. For which reason we are the more disposed to introduce into them a faithful plantation, and to engraft among them a stock acceptable in the sight of God, in proportion as we are convinced from conscientious motives, that such efforts are made incumbent on us by the urgent claims of duty.

recites the
conditions
on which
the bargain
of Ireland
was to be
concluded
between
them :

"You have signified to us, son well-beloved in Christ, your desire to enter the island of Ireland, in order to bring that people into subjection to laws, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices from the country; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house there, and to preserve the ecclesiastical rights of that land uninjured and inviolate.

gives his
full sanc-
tion to the
Invasion :

"We therefore, meeting your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously acceding to your petition, express our will and pleasure, that in order to widen the bounds of the Church, to check the spread of vice, to reform the state of morals, and promote the inculcation of virtuous dispositions, you shall enter that island, and execute therein what shall be for the honour of God and the welfare of the country. And let the people of that land receive you in honourable style, and respect you as their lord: provided always

that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured for St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.

"If then you shall be minded to carry into execution the plan which you have devised in your mind, use your endeavour diligently to improve that nation by the inculcation of good morals; and exert yourself, both personally, and by means of such agents as you employ, (whose faith, life, and conversation you shall have found suitable for such an undertaking,) that the Church may be adorned there, that the religious influence of the Christian faith may be planted and grow there; and that all that pertains to the honour of God and the salvation of souls may by you be ordered in such a way, as that you may be counted worthy to obtain from God a higher degree of recompense in eternity, and at the same time succeed in gaining upon earth a name of glory throughout all generations."

and concludes with some devout-sounding exhortations.

Lynch, (the author of the work flippantly entitled *Cambrensis eversus*) and Mac Geoghegan were indiscreet enough to attempt to prove this bull a forgery, and that Adrian could never have sent forth such a monstrous document. Such speculations have not however met with much countenance from any of the more judicious and well-informed writers of the Church of Rome. A complete exposure of their absurdity may be seen in Lanigan, iv. 164-166.

The authenticity of this bull rashly questioned by some.

According to an old Irish tradition preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, (an interesting compilation of the 15th century, from documents of

Curious Irish tradition relative to

the Bull of
Adrian IV.,
&c.

greater antiquity,) the sale of Ireland by the pope to the kings of England was brought about, partly at least, under the influence of revenge, for injuries inflicted on a papal officer by the Irish, worried, as it would seem, to resistance by his extortions. The account is as follows :—

“ O’Annoc and O’Chelchin of Cill Mor, O’Sluaisti from Cuil O’Sluaisti,* O’Glesain. These were they who stole the horses, and the mules, and the asses, of the Cardinal who came from Rome to the land of Erin to instruct it, in the time of Domhnall Mor O’Brian, king of Munster. And it was on that account the Cowarba [i. e. successor] of Peter sold the rent and right of Erin to the Saxons; and that is the right and title which the Saxons follow on the Gaedhil [i. e. the Irish] at this day; for it was to the Cowarba of Peter, to Rome, used to go the rent and tribute of Erin-until then.”†

Note on the
statement
here quoted.

This evidently refers to the visit of Cardinal Paparo to Ireland, and the Bull of Adrian IV. granted three years subsequently to that event. But the name Domhnall seems to have been inserted by mistake for that of his predecessor Turlogh, who reigned from 1142 to 1164 or later, and was succeeded by the famous Donald

* Now Cooloolushty, a townland in the parish of Tulla, barony of Upper Tulla, County Clare.

† *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 51 b. (now fol. 41 b.) See also Professor O’Donovan’s valuable and learned Irish Grammar, p. 369, which first drew my attention to the curious passage above given.

Mor, whose reign continued to A. D. 1194.* The Irish, it appears, were to be scourged by the Anglo-Normans, for their audacity in attempting to plunder the legate of his plunder, while the best that could was to be made of the pope's badly paid rent in Ireland, by selling to the English what would give them, as it was hoped, an interest in its collection.

While on this topic, it may not be amiss to adduce here one or two other illustrations of the proceedings of the early papal legates in Ireland. Cardinal Vivian's operations in 1177 have been already touched upon at pp. 602, 603, of this work. "He filled his bagges," says Hanmer (in his *Chronicle*, pp. 295, 296, Ed. 1809) "with the sinnes of the people; the English captains understanding of it, gave him in charge, either to depart the land, or to go to the warres, and serve for pay with them, and no longer to receive money for nought."† The latter method was however more to the Cardinal's mind, he

Some other anecdotes of early legates in Ireland.

Cardinal Vivian's rapacity noticed.

* Another case in which the same Domhnall or Donald appears to be put for the same Turlogh, in a transaction recorded in another *Irish Chronicle*, (written however in Latin,) may be seen in Lanigan's *Ec. Hist.* IV. 156.

† See Professor O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*; a work which since the publication of his edition might well be styled henceforth the *Annals of the Five Masters*, the last hand having done fully as much for the subject as any of the original quartette. See also the learned review of the same work, in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Nos. 94-97, (May-August,) 1848; and in particular, No. 97, p. 125, coll. 2, 3.

He superintends the "translation of SS. Patrick," &c.

An English bishop made legate for Ireland in 1190.

being, according to the respectable testimony of the *Annals of Melrose*,* "one that was for trampling and smashing all before him; a smart hand at gathering what he could by fair means, and no way backward at having a little more by foul;" "one whose legateship," adds Cardinal Baronius, "could not possibly have come to any good end, scandalized as it was by his infamous greed of gold."† Vivian however was barefaced enough, notwithstanding his repulse from Ireland on this occasion, to revisit the country again afterwards; and we find him coming over once more as legate in 1186, at the instance of John de Courcy, to assist in celebrating at Downpatrick the mock translation of the remains of SS. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille.‡

In A.D. 1190 we find Pope Clement III. appointing an English prelate to the office of legate for Ireland, at least for those parts of Ireland where the joint authority of England and Rome had become predominant. For the other parts of the island perhaps the services of such an officer were not felt to be much in request. The pope's letter to the bishop of Ely on this occasion runs thus:—

P. Clement's letter to him.

"Clement, bishop, &c. In accordance with the laudable desire expressed by our son right well beloved in

* *Ad an.* 1176.

† *Annales*, ad an. 1183. 8.

‡ *Lan. Ec. Hist.* iv. 274.

the Lord, Richard, the illustrious king of the English, we have judged it meet to entrust to thee, brother, by virtue of our apostolic authority, the office of Legate in all England and Wales, both in the province of Canterbury and in that of York, and in those parts of Ireland in which the noble John, Earl of Moreton, has dominion and authority.

"Dated this 7th of July, in the 3rd year of our Pontificate."^{*}

In 1201 John of Salernum, who had succeeded, as Cardinal, to Vivian, in 1192, was despatched into Ireland in the same capacity as his predecessor; whereupon, as the Four Masters inform us,

Legation of John of Salernum, (A.D. 1201.)

"he convoked a great Synod of the bishops, abbots, and every other order in the Church at Dublin, at which also many of the nobles of Ireland were present. By this Synod many proper ordinances for the regulation of the Church and the State were enacted."[†]

A similar meeting for Connaught was held in Athlone a fortnight afterwards, by the same legate. He received, we are told also, while on his legation in Ireland, many letters from Pope Innocent III. instructing him, amongst other things, to abolish in that country the abusive practice of sons and grandsons being appointed

who receives orders to prohibit nepotism in Ireland.

^{*} Mat. Par. Hist. Ang. p. 151. Tiguri, 1589.

[†] O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, in an.

to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices.*

The mission
of J. Penc-
cail,
A.D. 1220.

In A.D. 1220 Ireland was again favored with a visit from another papal emissary, by name Jacob Pencicail, of whose mission the following account (with which accords that of the Four Masters) is furnished by the ancient *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, as translated by Mac Geoghegan.

A.D. 1220. Jacob the pope's Legate, came to Ireland this year, went about all the Kingdome for the Reformation of the Inhabitants, and constituted many wholesome rules for their salvation."

His pillage
of Ireland,
and simony.

But another ancient authority, the *Annals of Kilronan*, give under the year 1221 an account, not quite so flattering, of this Jacob; represent-

* *Claconius de Vitis Pontificum*, col. 624. Rome, 1630. This would seem to indicate that marriage was usual among the Irish clergy of that age, as otherwise, if the sons and grandsons referred to were not born in wedlock. It is reasonable to suppose that the pope would, even for appearance sake, have directed his agent to commence the reform nearer to the root of the mischief, by attacking in the first instance a greater evil than that of nepotism; unless the children in question were born of dispensations to the unmarried. As to the biographer of Laurence O'Toole informing us of that prelate having sent to Rome for absolution 140 Irish clergymen "convicted of the crime of incontinence," (See *Lan.* iv. 242.) I cannot suppose that the individuals in question were otherwise than married, publicly or privately; as it is hard to conceive that men professing to be teachers of Christianity in any form, would, when tempted to break through the unnatural restrictions of Rome, have selected for adoption by such general consent, the least honest kind of life which was open to them. But the language of Romish writers on such matters is, at least by those familiar with their peculiar style, easily interpreted.

ing him in fact as less of a plain man, and more of an Esau in his proceedings. Their statement, literally translated from the Irish original, is as follows :—

“A.D. 1221. Jacob Penciall came to Ireland as a legate from Rome, to settle what related to the Ecclesiastical state. And he collected horseloads of gold and silver from the clergy of Ireland by simony; and left Ireland the same year.”

Thus far of these “apostolic” legates for the present.

No. XII.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE SAME HENRY II. CONFIRMATORY OF THE PRECEDING (A.D. 1172.)

“Alexander bishop, servant of the servants of God, The opening to our well-beloved son in Christ the illustrious king of salutation. the English, health and apostolical benediction.

“Forasmuch as those grants of our predecessors which Adrian's are known to have been made on reasonable grounds, bull to be are worthy to be confirmed by a permanent sanction; enforced We therefore following in the footsteps of the late venerable pope Adrian, and in expectation also of seeing the and carried fruits of our own earnest wishes on this head, ratify and confirm the permission of the said pope, granted you in reference to the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland; into effect, (reserving to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church,

in order to
abolish the
filthy barba-
rity of the
Irish
Church.

as in England, so also in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny for every house;) to the end that the filthy practices of that land may be abolished, and the barbarous nation which is called by the Christian name, may through your clemency attain unto some decency of manners; and that when the Church of that country, which has been hitherto in a disordered state, shall have been reduced to better order, that people may by your means possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession."

This Bull and the preceding may be seen in the original, with notes and references to authorities, in Ussher's *Sylloge*, Nos. 46 and 47.

No. XXXVI.

ON THE EIGHTH ACT OF THE CASHEL SYNOD.

Old Eng-
lish version
of the 8th
act of the
Synod of
Cashel.

Allusion has been made at p. 520, not. sup to the translation of the 8th act of the Cashel Synod given in the old English version of Giraldus. The passage as there given I could only refer to from memory, (not having the MS. within my reach,) when that note was going to press. But having since transcribed it from the original, I am enabled to subjoin it in this place, viz. :—

"The 8 that all men and women worshiþe holy

Churches and ofte goe to churches and holye church in all service be governede one the manner that is in England."—Gir. MS. F. 4. 4, (in T.C.D.) p. 24.

This appears after all to refer to the service and worship of the Church.

No. XXXVII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TITHES AND OTHER CHURCH PROPERTY IN IRELAND.

There are few topics perhaps which furnish for the harangues of the rash and the malicious more fruitful matter for statements full of unblushing effrontery, profligate mendacity, and unmitigated and obvious nonsense, than that of the Church establishment of Ireland. The affair is confessedly in an unsatisfactory state. It has perplexed many wise and good and well-informed statesmen;—and yet the hair-brained captain—the pampered slavedealer of the cotton mill—the fat-headed stockbroker—the designing revolution-monger of every class, Romish, dissenting, or infidel, and every other political quack-doctor—is ready with his plan of parliamentary tinkering, for the settlement of the case, if only you will give him leave to work at it in his own way. It is true that neither bob-

Irish Church property a favourite subject with conceited and ignorant "Reform" politicians;

bins, nor parade, nor steam-shares, nor even reform clubs, are the objects most likely to furnish and prepare the mind for so serious an undertaking; but however, although knowing little more of the matter than he does of the tenant-right or sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the remote side of the moon, each is confident of his powers;—no Morison, Perry, nor Holloway, more so. Each is there with his pack down, ready for opening. “Just let him but hammer at the vessel half an hour; patch this corner; clip that; smoothen the other; and you’ll see what a nice job he’ll make of it. It will be a complete new thing. You wouldn’t know it to be the same.”

who find it
however
a somewhat
unmanage-
able study.

Unfortunately however for the development of the abilities of these no less talented than well-informed individuals, “there are difficulties in the way.” Very old ones too. For it is now some 3300 years since that eminently renowned and zealous political jobber, the Son of Beor, from the mountains of the East, was anticipated in the perception of some of them by the long-eared quadruped on which he rode forth to his crusade against the Church of God. “There are difficulties,” which must force even the most recklessly compliant and unscrupulous of whig generals to curb and muzzle, as may be possible, the turbulent and unprincipled band of his fero-

cious retainers. "There are difficulties"—and will be, thank heaven—until the Church's own unfaithfulness, or need of chastisement, give occasion for their providential removal.

To enter at any length here into the difficult and complicated subject of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland, its glebes and see lands, tithes and ministers' money—their several origins, and the changes to which they have been subjected—reduced at one time to a low condition by war or legislative plunder, and again rising to prosperity under more friendly auspices—their transmission from hand to hand—and the heads of the civil enactments which from age to age have altered their values, or otherwise affected their general circumstances, however useful such an essay might be, would be of course utterly impossible here. We may however profitably introduce a few notices and statements of a general kind, likely to prove useful to the unlearned, as enabling them to comprehend better the force of the misrepresentations commonly current in connection with this subject.

Extent of
the subject.

The CHURCH LANDS of Ireland were in their origin the fruits of the voluntary system, a valuable adjunct (however insufficient as an exclusive source of income) to other means of supporting a religious establishment. By such

First origin
of Church
lands in Ire-
land.

landed property was the Church in this country maintained in the earliest ages, before the establishment of the tithe system under Anglo-Norman influence. The native princes and lords of Ireland gave in the most ancient times after the introduction of Christianity, to particular saints, various territories and plots of ground, on which to build churches and monastic schools, to be held by them and their successors for ever ; to which others were added by donation or purchase from time to time, until at length foundations and endowments of the kind were to be found in almost every parish. The lands chosen by the austere and retiring piety of the ancient saints were generally in the most retired spots ; for they loved the desert and seclusion, as affording more hope of peace and security in troublous times, and better opportunity for the kind of life they had selected for themselves. And where the bounty of secular princes would have bestowed the gift in a rich and fertile soil, they preferred what was less attractive to covetousness, contenting themselves with wild and barren spots, which might by unwearied labour become productive and valuable. And in fact, by their persevering toils, those very spots became in after times the richest and most fertile in the country : so that while, from the lives and habits of the lay proprietors, their

estates exhibited comparatively little or no improvement, the monastic lands attained to the highest degree of culture and productiveness.

To represent the lands here mentioned as intended by the donors of them for *the benefit of the Church of Rome*, can be the result only of ignorance or perversity; she having had no jurisdiction in Ireland for so many centuries after the time when those grants began to be made. They were bestowed by the temporal rulers of the island on those ancient holy men, simply "for celebrating divine service, and prayinge for their soules's healthes," and that they, dedicating themselves to the worship of God, and the ministry of His Church, might have sufficiency for their competent maintenance in this world. They were given *to the clergy of the Church of Ireland*, during their primitive independence of all foreign supremacy.

For whom
they were
intended.

The rapacious hand of the plunderer began at an early period to make aggression on the endowments consecrated by the pious munificence of the old Irish Christians to the service of religion;—a work in which foreign foes co-operated with enemies of native blood. On this subject, the following historical statement from the able pen of the late Mr. Phelan* appears from its

First rise of
Church spoliation in
Ireland.

* See *The Case of the Church of Ireland stated, in a Letter to the Marquess Wellesley, in reply to J. K. L. (i. e. J[ames Doyle, titular*

adaptation to the object in view in the present article, to be worth transcribing for the reader's benefit :—

Statement
of Mr. Phelan
relative to the
effects of the
Danish wars
on Church
property.

“The ravages of the Danes commenced with the ninth century, and for three hundred years we lose all distinct notices of things, in one sanguinary chaos of rapine and revenge. When men began to recover from this dreadful visitation, it was felt that religion had suffered grievously. The horrors of intestine warfare, favourable perhaps in single instances, to an austere and unsocial piety, are fatal to the milder virtues, and three centuries of invasion might suffice for the corruption of the finest people; nor could the clergy escape the general degeneracy. There was abundant time for the decay of discipline, of learning, and of manners; and the succession of a priesthood, supplied altogether from domestic sources, must have experienced no inconsiderable interruption.

“The temporal condition of the Church was reduced equally. During the incursions of the barbarians, the retreats of religion had been the chief objects of their fury, and amidst the thousand necessities and temptations of such a time, the natives were gradually led to join in the spoliation.” [Freed from other warfare, the chieftains turned their arms against the ministers of peace; and a favorite exploit with them was the burning of churches and colleges, or the fitting out of an expedition against some religious house, suspected of retaining a wreck of its former possessions.]

Condition of
matters in
the 12th
century.

So continued matters until Gille of Limerick began his Romanizing improvements. Mean-

bishop of] Kildare and] L[oughlin]) by Declan. Milliken, Dublin, 1824. pp. 14 seqq.

while the Church lands had become in great part alienated from their proper object, and seized upon by lay impropriators; occupied perhaps in some cases by secular usurpers destitute of any kind of title to them; resumed in other instances by the representatives of the original donors, or chieftains belonging to the same sept; or again, as appears to have been very common, taken possession of by the corbes and erenachs, who had been appointed as the trustees of them for the Church's benefit, and by them turned to the private enriching of themselves and their families.

"Of the see lands," says Mr. Phelan,* "the greater part was seized by the chieftains, and the remainder subjected to heavy imposts for the support of their numerous and disorderly followers. The better to secure the temporalities of the prelates, they intruded even upon their spiritual functions. The princes of the territory in which Armagh was situated, usurped the title, as well as the demesnes of the Successor of St. Patrick," so that it should be held always by one of their own family and none other; and so elsewhere.

Statement
of Mr. Phelan
continued.

"Such a state of things threatened the total extinction of a clerical order; the Irish prelates awoke to the necessity of devising some new means for the revival of religion, and at length despairing of domestic relief, began to turn their eyes to the see of Rome."

When the bishops of Ireland in the twelfth

* *Ut sup.*

First crea-
tion of epis-
copal prop-
erty in Ire-
land.

century became possessed of territorial jurisdiction over certain assigned dioceses, it appears that care was taken at the same time to create a certain property for the maintenance of each in his new independence of monastic associations. And an arrangement was made by which the corbes and erenachs in possession of church lands should give "each unto the bushopp within whose diocess his lands were, a yerely pension more or less, according to his proportion, out of his entire erenachie."^{*} This exaction the corbes and erenachs consented to, it would seem, not less on account of their voluntary compliance with the new order of ecclesiastical affairs, than from a desire to secure the bishops' countenance and protection in their territorial acquisitions. In Derry and Raphoe, it is stated, that a third part of the ecclesiastical property in the erenach's lands was assigned to the bishop for his support, the other two-thirds being allotted to church repairs, keeping of hospitality, and erenach's maintenance.

As to what lands were held by the corbes and erenachs, of this very little is now known, scarcely any documents remaining, except in some few cases, to shew what their precise boundaries were. Some of them are probably

^{*} Vid. Reeves's *Ant. of Down, &c.*, p. 161, and the notes and authorities there appended.

now bishops' lands, but in other places they have passed away altogether from the Church.*

Notwithstanding the many changes to which ecclesiastical property in this country has been subjected, and the spoliation and plunder of so many successive ages, what still remains is, in some cases at least, of great antiquity. Of the revenues of the see of Down, the Rev. Wm. Reeves observes, that "Documentary authority has been produced to shew, that the greater part of the bishop's estates have been in the possession of the see for six centuries and a half," or in other words, from A.D. 1200.

Antiquity of the present See property in some instances.

"It is remarkable that the Irish Church owes the greater part of her present parochial endowments, and much also of her episcopal revenues, to the piety and munificence of her prelates since the Reformation. In

The Irish Church indebted for much of her present in-

* The learned and beautiful edition of the *Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry*, A.D. 1397, by the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., (received by the kindness of its erudite author, since the above was written,) contains much important information on the subject of corbes and erenachs, and of Irish Church revenues in general.

In the appendix to the *Ulster Inquisitions of 1609*, as quoted by Dr. Reeves, at p. 76 of this work, the Bishop of Derry is reported as receiving, "out of the erenagh land of Ballinescrine, contayninge sixe balliboes [i. e. the 'Six Towns' (or townlands), in one of which these lines are penned,] (whereof the herenagh had one free to himself,) the yerely rent of 16s. 8d." The "Six Towns" are still classed among the Church lands of Ireland, and are tenanted by a population who supply no inconsiderable amount of practice for the manor court of the seneschal of the Lord Bishop of Derry presiding in Maghera. In 1397 the bishop received as rent from the erenagh for "the six townes," three marks, i. e. £3, and out of the tithes of the parish of Ballynascreen, farmed by the erenagh, 30s.—in all, £3 from the parish.

come to the
pious munifi-
cence of
her own
prelates.

Ireland the Reformation would have been more truly called the confiscation. There is at this moment scarcely an Irish nobleman, inheriting an ancient property, who does not owe the bulk of it to the confiscated lands of the Church . . . And what was the consequence? The accounts given (in the extant Episcopal visitation returns) of the spiritual destitution of the Irish parishes, and of the miserable poverty of the clergy in the two centuries which followed the Reformation, are truly marvellous: churches ruined, glebe lands violently seized, the clergy without houses, their lives threatened by the landowners, lest they should perchance reside, although without houses, and thus recover the spoliated property, or prevent further encroachments; such was the state of the Irish Church in the time of Bramhall.

Service ren-
dered by
Bishop
Bramhall,
&c.

To that great prelate we owe the re-establishment of discipline and order, and the blessing of uniformity with the Church of England. To the bishops who have succeeded him too, we owe the re-endowment of the Church, the measures which have enabled us to see a glebe house and land in almost every parish, (although there are still numerous exceptions,) and which have provided for the repair or rebuilding of many of our churches; and all this, (as might easily be shewn,) has been effected by the munificence of individuals, bishops, as well as inferior clergy—individuals who have done their good works so secretly, that their very names are known to but few; and yet people now talk as if the endowments of the Church of Ireland had been [wholly] conferred upon her, in times gone by, by Parliament or by the State.*

Such munifi-
cence not
yet extinct.

Nor has such munificence on the part of her prelates, though opposed by many a heavy blow and great discouragement from the secular

* See the *Irish Eccl. Journal* for July, 1845, (No. 61) p. 198.

powers, been as yet quenched in the Irish Church. Of one of her two highest dignitaries the writer here quoted justly observes, that

“not content with having rebuilt his cathedral at an expense to his own private fortune of upwards of £80,000, he is known to employ more than £2000 per annum in the support of poor clergymen, and other pressing wants of his diocese; and this without counting his contributions to benevolent and literary institutions less closely connected with the Church, without counting either those almost countless private charities, of which it can be most truly said, that his left hand knoweth not what his right hand doeth. And this prelate, be it remembered, is the only Irishman (with one exception) who has held the see of Armagh since the days of Usher, a period of 200 years!”

Case of the present Lord Primate of all Ireland;

The unsparing munificence of the individual who occupies the second place in the Irish Church at present is also sufficiently well known; (not to refer to others,) so that, whatever slanderous envy may suggest relative to the overgrown revenues of our prelates, it is happy for churchmen to be able to reflect, that not only are those large incomes in the possession of their only right and lawful inheritors, but that in the most remarkable instances of them, here noticed, they could not possibly be in the hands of individuals more worthy to hold them, so far as that worthiness is to be judged of by their generous readiness to make use of them, without

and of the second chief prelate of the Irish Church.

grudging, for works of piety and benevolence in the household of God.

Origin of
the Tithe
system in
Ireland.

As to the **TITHES** property of the Irish Church. This appears, according to all the best informed writers on our ecclesiastical affairs, to have originated in the twelfth century ; any payment of such an impost in previous ages, if at all practised in this island, having been confined to a few particular persons, times, and places, in the country. The following statement on the subject, from the pen of a late eminent Roman Catholic prelate of Ireland, the famous Dr. Doyle, in a letter to the Marquess Wellesley, while containing some errors, is in part true, and altogether worthy of notice :—*

Statement
of the late
Dr. Doyle
on the sub-
ject.

“Tithes in this country, my Lord,” says he, “should always have been odious ; they were the price paid by Henry II. and the legate Paparo to the Irish prelates, who sold for them the independence of their native land, and the birthright of their people : until that period, tithes were almost unknown in this country, and from the day of their introduction, we may date the history of our misfortunes ; they were not the only cause, but they were an efficient one, of all the calamities which followed ; and whilst they subsist, peace and concord will not be re-established in Ireland.”

Mr. Phelan's
account of
our Church

Mr. Phelan's eloquent reply to the letter from which this latter extract is taken, has been al-

* See Mr. Phelan's *Declam Letter*, ut sup. p. 12.

ready quoted in the present article. From the same reply are taken the subjoined passages relating to the same subject, from the time when the tithe system originated in Ireland. They occur immediately in connection with that cited in p. 1061, sup.; and will be found to contain some useful and important observations.

property,
from the
commence-
ment of the
Tithe
system.

“The ambition of the Vatican had long been mortified by the existence of one recusant Church in the West; and the opportunity of triumph which now offered, was improved with even more than papal skill. Yet half a century elapsed [A.D. 1106—1146] before the Irish clergy could be induced to capitulate. At length however, matters became ripe for negotiation; the terms were of course, submission on the weaker side, and protection on the stronger; and as these terms could not be secured, without the intervention of secular power, Henry was invited by the Pope, and admitted by the bishops, to become a party to the contract.

“The first act of the new sovereign was to ratify the proceedings of a synod, which among other things, passed the two following decrees:—

“*That all the faithful do pay to their parish Church, the tithe of animals, fruits, and other increase.*

Acts of the
Cashel
Synod in
connection
with this
subject.

“*That ecclesiastical lands be free from the exactions of the laity. In particular that no prince, count, or other powerful man in Ireland, or their sons or families, do presume to exact, as was usual, victuals or entertainments in the demesnes of the Church; and that those detestable contributions which were wont to be levied from Church lands four times in the year be levied no more.*

“Such my Lord, as accurately as can be described in a small compass, is the history of the origin of our

Tithes the
most an-
cient land
rents in Ire-
land.

Church Establishment. It will be important to keep in mind, that the act from which it is dated, is the very first act of the English dynasty. All property in this country is the creation of some English king; and the first property so created is that of the Church. When the Synod of Cashel was held, none of the native landholders had as yet been ejected; but since that time every foot of Irish territory has been frequently forfeited to the Crown. The Norman and English knights, as they successively came into possession, and the Irish chieftains, as they were readmitted under a new tenure, received their princely portions with a reservation of this original grant. However the present landlords may have acquired their properties, the acquisition extended only to nine-tenths of the produce, and their title to it, when traced to the source, originates in the bounty of the Crown of England . . .

Statement
of Black-
stone on the
rights of
"the par-
son."

" 'The law,' says Blackstone, 'has wisely ordained that the parson (*quatenus* a parson) shall never die, any more than the king, by making him and his successors a corporation. By which means all the original rights of the parsonage are preserved entire to the successors; for the present incumbent, and his predecessor who lived seven centuries ago, are in the law one and the same person, and what was given to the one was given to the other.'—[Book 1, cap. 18.] It follows therefore that in the spirit of the Constitution, the clergy of the present day have been presented to their livings by Henry II.; that they have the same rights, which they ever had, to a tenth^a of all increase, and that no series of illegal vexations can accumulate into law against their original claims. It is an ignorant and false assumption . . . that the tenure of the clergy is the same as that of military or fiscal officers. Such persons are supported

The clergy
not sup-
ported by
taxes.

* On the meaning and extent of the property called a *tithe*, see the observations of his Grace the Lord Primate, quoted a little farther on.

by taxes; the clergy by their own property. A tax is that *portion of the property of the subject*, which is levied by the state, according to its exigencies. The income of the clergy is no deduction from such property; tithes never were part of any property now in existence; and were the clerical order abolished, they would remain without a legal claimant. Those who call themselves landed proprietors would have no more right to them than a horde of Cossacks. On the other hand, tithes are in the strictest sense the property of the Church. By history, as well as by the genius of the Constitution, all property in Ireland is the gift of the British crown; the first gift was to the Church.”—(pp. 29, 30.)

In another part of his pamphlet, Mr. Phelan proposes the subject to his readers in a somewhat different and not altogether uninteresting, as follows (p. 37, *ib.*)—

Perpetuity of the tithe property and proprietary from its first rise

“Failure of title must arise from one of two causes; the one a legal forfeiture; the other a chasm in the legal line of succession. The former of these operated to the removal of [some of] the Roman clergy; let us see whether the latter can be asserted of the Reformed: the case will stand thus:—

“The Church of Ireland, on submitting to the Pope, was invested with certain temporalities by Henry II. Again:—

“The Church of Ireland, on renouncing the Pope, was confirmed in its temporalities by Henry VIII.

“If the investiture were valid, there is no reason for objecting to the reinvestiture. The admission and the renunciation of Papal supremacy were equally essential, or equally unessential things; and if the Church survived the one, we may be allowed to believe that it was

not annihilated by the other. There was no disruption of continuity at the Reformation, [the adoption of the changes then made by the bishops and clergy as a body, having the effect of preserving the derivative character of the priesthood, and maintaining the requisite unity of organization.] These circumstances, sufficient (as they would be) to prove the continued Catholicity of the Church, are abundantly conclusive for its continued identity, as a legal and constitutional incorporation."

Further on, at p. 59 of the same tract, Mr. Phelan adds—

Abolition of
tithes no
benefit to
the people.

"There is an extreme competition for land, a competition increasing with the increase of our population. Thus the landlord would be enabled to transfer to himself the benefits of the abolition. *At present he makes, or professes to make, an abatement in consideration of tithes : were tithes to cease, the abatement would cease with them.*" Had J. K. L. considered this, he might have perceived that tithes are virtually a portion of the rent ; and the parson a landlord no less than the squire. The only difference between them is, that to all who are willing to receive his ministry, the former stands in a nearer and more sacred relation. To the rest of his people he is, [in so far as they by rejecting his authority and instructions, can effect it,] simply a landlord, and like all others, founds his right upon the laws of his country."

The Church
in what
sense in-

So that in short, notwithstanding the pitiful moaning and whining of those designing huma-

* The truth of this assertion has since been strikingly verified by the Act which transferred a fourth of the property in question from the clergy of the Church to the pockets of the lay proprietors in Ireland. The Italics are Mr. Phelan's.

nity-mongers, who depict our poor natives as having to maintain, besides their own chosen ministers of religion, "another Church in magnificence,"—that Church "the richest in the world,"—"supported at the charge of the poorest people on the face of the earth,"—and so forth; it appears that in truth, after all, the people only maintain the Church as they maintain the grocer, baker, cloth-merchant, or alehouse-keeper. These latter they support by paying for their tea and sugar, bread and cheese, and other such commodities. The Church is paid for her lands, and gives them in return for the tithe. Her right to the soil, though less extensive, is in all other respects no less founded in justice and equity than that of the lay proprietor; but rather, more to be respected, as depending on a title far more deeply rooted in antiquity than his. And if the rapacious injustice of demagogue influence ever succeed in abolishing that which belongs to God's clergy, either this will be the commencement of more wide-spread anarchy and communism; or other and more exacting claimants will interfere, as on a former occasion, and make plain to "the people" how far they are the better for the Church's loss.

On the amount, and other circumstances, of the property belonging to the Irish Church, a good deal of useful and important information is

debted to
"the people"
for her
support.

Statements
of his Grace
the Lord
Primate of

all Ireland
on the pro-
perty of the
Irish
Church.

contained in the Charge of his Grace the Lord Primate of all Ireland, delivered at his annual visitation in 1845. The following is the statement given in that address, relative to the emoluments in possession of the Irish clergy.*

*Tithes not
a tenth, but
a fortieth
part of the
increase
from tillage.*

"And first I would refer to the revenues of the Church, which are still spoken of as being 'enormous.' The 'immense riches,' the 'lavish endowment' of the Irish Church, occupy a prominent place in every speech and pamphlet on this subject. In the last of these publications that I have seen, the attempt is made to lead the British public to believe that tithe, meaning thereby, as it is specifically asserted, a tenth part of the produce of the land, is still paid to the clergy by the cultivators of the soil.† Although even when what was called tithe was formerly paid, it was not a *tenth*, but a *thirtieth* part that was received by them. And since that which was denominated tithe has been commuted into a rent-charge paid by the landlord, it has been diminished by one-

* See the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for February, 1846, p. 306.

† His Grace appears in this passage to refer to the following most extraordinary statement, contained, with much other matter scarcely less mischievous and false, in a Letter on the Irish Church, from the Rev. B. W. Noel, (lately of the Church of England, but now a Dissenter,) to the Lord Bishop (Daly) of Cashel:—"The Catholic population," (he means the Romanists of Ireland,) . . . "have been compelled, down to this very moment, to pay tithes, that is to make over a tenth part of their farms and potato gardens to the established clergy, who at the same time, possess all the estates and glebe lands that formerly belonged to the Catholic clergy." See the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for August, 1845, (No. 62, p. 212,) where the reviewer of the subject adds among other corrections, "that if in the last clause of the sentence 'nobility and gentry' be substituted for 'established clergy,' the statement it contains will somewhat approach the truth, to which at present it bears no sort or kind of resemblance."

fourth; and it is, in reality, but a *fortieth* that is paid to the clergy of the Established Church. In other words, they receive a fourth part of the tithe. (a) And, were the income derived from this source, and from minister's money, to be divided equally among the beneficed clergy, it would yield them (after paying the salaries of their assistant curates) about £230 a year each. Were it equally shared amongst all the clergy, incumbents and curates, it would not give to each of them an income of £170. If the value of the glebe lands be also taken into account, the whole property of the parochial clergy, were it divided in equal shares amongst them all, would not produce for each of them £200 a year."

Average
incomes of
the Irish
clergy.

To this extract the following note is appended in the original :—

(a) "The evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on tithes in Ireland, in the year 1832, by Mr. Griffith, the Commissioner of Valuation in Ireland, fully established the fact, that the proportion which the tithe composition bore to the gross value of the whole produce or increase of the land was less than a *sixtieth* part; the present tithe rent-charge is, therefore, less than the *eightieth*. As it was the custom, however, to exempt some kind of produce from the payment of tithes, I have in view those only which were usually tithed, when I state, that the proportion paid was a *thirtieth* and not a *tenth*, and that the rent-charge is but a *fortieth*." (p. 19, note.)

Note, on the
meaning of
Tithes, as
above ex-
plained.

Of the incomes of the bishops, his Grace remarks, in the same document, as follows :—

"The rumours put into circulation as to the revenues of

Statement
concerning
the episco-
pal revenues
in Ireland.

the bishops, have been even more exaggerated than these in reference to the incomes of the parochial clergy. But when the facts are fairly inquired into, instead of the prelates having, as a body, eagerly grasped at gain, and sought to aggrandize themselves out of the property belonging to them, it will be found that their long-settled practice has been to claim and to receive, in addition to the small head-rents of the estates assigned to them, a renewal fine of only one-fifth of the value, after deducting that rent; the remaining four-fifths being enjoyed by the numerous and respectable class of landholders to whom they have been leased for many generations. Is there any other property in the kingdom, I would ask, out of which so small a benefit is claimed by its proprietors? When the provisions of the Church Temporalities' Act shall have come into full operation, (and it is in this light that our ecclesiastical establishment must be viewed, by all who really wish to ascertain the condition in which it will be in future,) the revenues of the episcopal body will be reduced by the payment of a heavy tax, so that their average nett amount will but little exceed that of the judges of the courts of law. And when it is considered that the prelates form a portion of the peerage of the country, one of the highest estates of the realm—a privilege of their order as ancient as the House of Peers itself, and handed down to the bishops of the Irish Church by a succession which has suffered no interruption,—a succession reaching further back than does the title of any temporal peer of Ireland; and when the income assigned them out of their properties is compared with that of even the poorest of the noble order, of which from time immemorial they form a part, it will appear to be not excessive in its amount."

Views of
Edmund
Burke re-

The limits of this volume being such as to exclude the possibility of dwelling at greater

length on the valuable matter contained in the Charge from which the above passages are quoted, it may be proper in connection with the last of them, to draw the reader's attention to the following judicious observations of the celebrated Edmund Burke, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, (pp. 153, 154.) After alluding to the relations existing between the teachers of religion, and the wealthy and powerful in the country, and remarking on the evil consequences likely to result, if the latter individuals were to behold the former body elevated, "in no part, above the establishment of their domestic servants," Edmund Burke proceeds to speak thus :—

pecting
the main-
tenance of
the clergy.

"Our provident constitution has therefore taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt, nor live upon their alms. Nor will it tempt the rich to a neglect of the true medicine of their minds. For these reasons, whilst we provide first for the poor, and with a parental solicitude, we have not relegated religion, as something we are ashamed to shew, to obscure municipalities or rustic villages. No! we will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments. We will have her mixed throughout the whole mass of life, and blended with all the classes of society. The people of England will show to the haughty potentates of the world, and to their talking sophisters, that a free, a generous, an informed nation honours the high magistrates of its Church, that it will not suffer the insolence of wealth and titles, or

Extract
from his
Reflections
on the
French Re-
volution.

any other species of proud pretension, to look down with scorn upon what they look up to with reverence; nor presume to trample on the acquired personal nobility, which they intend always to be, and which often is, the fruit, not the reward, (for what can be the reward?) of learning, piety, and virtue. They can see without pain or grudging an archbishop precede a duke. They can see a Bishop of Durham, or a Bishop of Winchester, in possession of ten thousand pounds a year, and cannot conceive why it is in worse hands than estates to the like amount in the hands of this earl or that squire; although it may be true that so many dogs and horses are not kept by the former, and fed with the victuals which ought to nourish the children of the people."

The Church property of the country only a small portion of that embraced in the schemes of agitating demagogues.

But in truth by far the greater, although the less turbulent, portion of those who desire to see the confiscation of Church property completed in this country, look on the measure with comparatively small interest, as affecting but an inconsiderable portion of their cherished "rights." "The people" and their political guides, lay and clerical, of native blood, and native sentiments, (for those of English extraction and English connections are but little acquainted with their mind on the subject,) look on the existence of any proprietors of an "Englished condition" in Ireland, as a gigantic wrong, to be put down by might and violence, whenever safe occasion allows. But to attack directly so extensive and influential an interest, would raise too formidable a front of opposition. The

communist Cyclop will be content to leave the lay proprietor for digestion last. The land *he* holds can hardly be meddled with. Even in the way of its partial alienation by a "tenant right" enactment, impediments are found to exist. His ancestors may have wasted their property, and encumbered their successor with poverty—spent their time on dogs, and wine, and carousing—neglecting all care of tenants or of tenements; yet the landlord's remaining interest must be protected; and to attempt to deprive him of more than is needed for the payment of legal debts, contracted by his family, would be looked on as contrary to all principles of social order, and to the general good feeling of an honest-minded public.

The neighbouring rector inherits a Church holding, the scene perhaps from time immemorial, of the labours of some industrious monk, or thrifty parson, or in almost the worst case, of a resident gentleman, superior in education to his rural neighbours, and likely to raise their feelings, manners, and principles, by the influence of example, if no further. Culture and attention have given to his glebe a corresponding appearance of productiveness, improvement, and comfort. It belongs not however to his family. Any tradesman's child, any humble individual, of industry, intellect, and character, may become the next

The rector's glebe no grievance to the poor of his neighbourhood.

inheritor. How are the poor of the neighbourhood more oppressed here? Or what advantage would they gain, if that Church farm were to become in perpetuity the property of some publican, grocer, or cattle-jobber, and his family, instead of continuing to be the residence of a ministering servant of the Church of God?

The Church property of Ireland never transferred from one body of men to another.

Sham arguments however, and *quasi* reasonings, have more weight with the dull and the perverse, where ecclesiastical property is concerned; and what would be unprincipled and intolerable in connection with the sacred rights of the secular community, is all fair and honest in dealing with the Church's inheritance. So the wily agitator, largely countenanced in fomenting a popular cry against "the transferred property" in possession of the Irish Church, is enabled to insinuate into the public mind, a principle of most extensive, and almost unlimited, application, to the lay property of Ireland;—applicable to it more strictly. For where the layman's inheritance has been repeatedly confiscated, and thus really transferred to a new proprietary, the Church's portion was never possessed by any other body.* Only the civil power has from time to time procured the nomination of particular individuals to succeed to particular offices in that body, just as the visible head of

* Vld. p. 1068 sup.

the Roman Church, the pretended "successor of St. Peter," has been nominated to his patriarchate, in different instances, even by an Arian emperor.* If the succession at Rome be unimpaired by a proceeding in which the hand of heresy meddled thus effectively, much less may we doubt the lawfulness of a succession, such as that of the Irish Church, in which, *as vacancies occurred*, subsequently to the Reformation, they were filled by prelates of the Reformed faith, selected by an even more than due exercise of secular influence, on the part of the Reformed Catholic monarchs of England.

Besides the different kinds of Church property already noticed in this article, there is another of more limited amount existing in some places in Ireland, (although unknown in England,) and called *Ministers' Money*. It is collected only in the following eight cities and corporate towns, viz., Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Kinsale; and it consists of a rate upon houses of one shilling in the pound of the yearly value, which, however, cannot, for this purpose, be estimated at a higher sum than £60 per annum. It was granted in the year 1665, on the settlement of

Ministers' Money in Ireland, what?

* See Dr. O'Connor's *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 1, for instances. He notices, for example, (at p. 51.) the case of Pope Symmachus, nominated A.D. 503, by the Arian Emperor Theodoric.

Not paid by individuals at present for any spiritual purposes, but as debt, and rent.

the country at the Restoration, as a substitute for the more ancient mode of supporting the clergy, which it was probably found difficult to readjust after the long disorders of the civil wars. Its temporary abolition by James II. was one of the measures adopted by that monarch for the ruin of the Church. The entire property, at present, amounts to about £15,000 a year; and this sum forms almost the sole provision for the clergy in those towns where it is levied. Moreover, as what were called tithes were but a part of the rent of the soil, paid *for the soil*, to those who were part-owners of it, so ministers' money is a house-rent, payable by voluntary covenant, on the part of those who choose to become occupants of premises in the towns and cities aforesaid; and payable at the present day, not to entitle the several holders of such premises to any spiritual services or instruction from the clergy owning such rents, or to involve such clergymen in any peculiar obligations to the tenants paying the same, individually, whether submitting to their ministrations or no, but to entitle the tenants in question to the occupation of these holdings in honesty, and with a due regard to the rights of the proprietors, lay and clerical, to whom they belong. A violent agitation (on a small scale) has however existed for many years, to procure the confiscation of this

property, in favour of a class of men, whose honesty and good faith are sufficiently illustrated in the principle freely set forth by them, as the basis of their operations, viz., "that it were a violation of their conscience to pay a charge created in favour of a Protestant clergyman, although the property concerned may have been purchased by them subject to the charge in question ;"^{*} or in other words, that they may voluntarily incur an obligation, which it would be against their consciences to discharge, and afterwards reconcile the conflicting duties by adopting the course most profitable to their temporal interests.

An original
notion of
conscience.

Of the actual amount of property belonging to the Irish Church at present, the following brief summary is extracted from the able speech, on this subject, of Mr. G. A. Hamilton, member for the University of Dublin, in the course of the debate in the House of Commons, of July 10, 1849, as reported in the *Morning Herald*.

Of the present
amount
of Church
property in
Ireland.

"The property of the Irish Church," said the learned gentleman, "might be considered as divided between the parochial clergy, the dignitaries, and the bishoprics. In the evidence given by Mr. Quin, he found this statement of the income of the parochial clergy at the present time:—

Incomes of
the paro-
chial clergy.

^{*} For a fuller and more instructive statement of this application of the rule of "No faith with heretics," see the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for October, 1848, No. 99, pp. 146, 147. See also pp. 157, 158, *ib.*, and more in the numbers following.

Gross income	...	...	...	£453,094
Nett, not deducting poor rates			...	369,660
Deduct poor rates, 3s. in the pound, in gross	...	...	...	63,244
Total nett income of beneficed clergy	...			306,416
Deduct stipends to stipendiary curates				56,708
				£249,708

"Taking the number of *benefices* at 1445, the sum of £249,708, divided amongst them, would give an average for each benefice of £172 16s. 2d.; but dividing the amount [of nett income available for support of both rectors and curates, viz., £306,416,] by the real number of *clergymen*, 2165, the amount of salary for each [incumbent and curate thus reduced to a level,] would be only £141 10s. 7d."

As to the property belonging to the dignitaries of the Irish Church, Mr. Hamilton goes on to say, that—

Revenues of
the Church
dignitaries
of Ireland.

"The gross incomes of the deans, archdeacons, prebends, and deans and chapters in Ireland, were only about £23,000, and their nett incomes were only about £21,000. The gross incomes of the Irish bishops amounted to £44,523, and their nett incomes to £40,553, giving an average income to each bishop of £4055. Now he did not think that was an excessive sum, when he remembered that these bishops had to support the position of noblemen, and that the nett incomes of the English bishops amounted to £5930. The nett incomes of the two Irish archbishops amounted to

£15,808, so that the total sum annually received by the Irish bishops and archbishops was £56,361."

The question of little or much is however of small consequence, and need not be enlarged on here; nor is it one that can properly concern the House of Commons either, as at present constituted, any more than the revenues of the titular archbishop of Dublin, or of any Romish hospital, or fraternity, or Methodist college, or "Baptist" missionary society. For however the national establishment of the Church's faith may involve the idea of a peculiar claim to protection and countenance for her from the government of the state, it cannot surely stand, with any rational mind, as a ground for her being pre-eminently a mark for oppression and plunder, such as no other religious community in the realm is expected to endure.

The Church not "established" for the purpose of being plundered.

With regard to the notion of the equalization of clerical income, hinted at in the foregoing statement, however properly and usefully such a consideration might be introduced into the view of the case put forth by Mr. Hamilton, the idea is of course one which no judicious friend of the Church will ever desire to see realized: and considering how much has been said by well-meaning men within the Church's pale, and by meddling and mischievous men without, con-

Levelling among clerks deprecated.

cerning the poverty of "the working clergy," "ill-paid curates," and so forth, a working curate of some years' standing will perhaps be excused for telling, (at the close of this subject,) those thoughtful individuals, how little the objects of their humane intentions are able to sympathise with such benevolent speculations in their favour. As far as the writer may be permitted to suppose the sentiments of others accordant with his own, he would say for himself and them, "We are no levellers, nor in any such hurry to be rich or comfortable, as to look with jealous and impatient eye on the glebes and benefices enjoyed by our much respected fathers and elder brethren in the ministry of the Lord's flock. They have borne the toils and heat of the day before us, and long may they be permitted to enjoy, if it so please God, whatever increase of dignity or comfort advancing years have brought them. And even if in some cases the profligate abuse of Church patronage, on the part of secular ministers, be employed in prostituting Church dignities and endowments, to seduce and corrupt for political ends, those few of the sacred order who may be found capable of acting under such influence, let even those who profit by such proceedings enjoy their 'honours' and emoluments, as they may find it possible, so long as their fewness continues to bear an effective

testimony to the unaltered faithfulness of the great body with which they are connected."

Nos. XIII.—XVI.

LETTERS OF POPE ALEXANDER III. ON IRELAND.

The three following epistles may be found, (as was stated at p. 533 sup. *not.*) in the new edition of Rymer's *Fœdera*. But the whole contents of the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, from which they are taken, have been published at Oxford, 1728, in two small 8vo. volumes, edited by T. Hearne, S.T.P. In this work these letters may be found at pp. 42-48.

No. XIII.—POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

"Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brethren, Christian bp. of Lismore, legate of the Apostolic See, and Gelasius Armachan. Donogh Cashel, Lance. Dublin, and Catholicus Trianen. [sic] archbps. and their suffragans, greeting and apostolical benediction.

Notice of the Liber Niger of Dr. Hearne.

Opening salutation of the Irish prelates.

"The sad extent of disorder and crime which stains the character of the Irish people, and the manner in which they have cast off the fear of God and the restraints of the Christian religion, to follow courses fraught with peril to the souls of men, has been made very clear to us from the contents of your letter; although indeed a pretty full account of the case was brought before the notice of the apostolic see in the au-

Abuse of the godless uncatholic Irish people.

Henry II. divinely inspired to invade Ireland, according to the pope's notion.

The pontiff's pious prayers for Ireland.

The bishops of Ireland commanded to assist Henry II. in keeping the savage Irish in order,

and to excommunicate

thentic statements of other parties also. Therefore it is that when we understood from your letter how those practices, so contrary to all law, which have prevailed in your country, are now beginning, with the Lord's assistance, to disappear under the influence of the power of our dearly beloved son in Christ, the illustrious Henry, king of the English, (who pressed in his conscience by the voice of divine inspiration, was led to effect by a concentration of his forces, the subjugation to his own sovereignty, of that savage and uncivilized people who know nothing of God's law,) we rejoiced exceedingly, and rendered our boundless thanksgivings to Him who bestowed on the prince aforesaid so grand a victory and triumph;—making request withal in our humble supplications, that through the vigilant and anxious personal efforts of the monarch, aided by your hearty co-operation, that lawless and unruly people may be brought to cherish a respect for the divine law, and for the principles of the Christian religion in all its parts and all its bearings on every circumstance of their lives; and that you and other ecclesiastical persons may enjoy that honour and quietness of life, to which you are properly entitled.

"Seeing therefore that it behoves you to use your anxious diligence and friendly efforts in promoting an undertaking which has been commenced on such pious principles, we command and enjoin upon you brethren, by this our apostolic writ, that you do, to the utmost of your diligence and power, (so far as may comport with your office, and the privileges of your order) give your assistance to the prince aforesaid, (as being so magnificent a person, and so truly devout a son of the Church,) in maintaining and keeping possession of that land, and in extirpating from it such filthy abominations as are above referred to.

"And if any of the kings, princes, or other persons of that country shall attempt by rash adventure, to con-

traverse the obligation of his oath and fealty tendered to the king aforesaid,—if on your admonition he shall not with due promptness return to a better mind, let him feel the stroke of your ecclesiastical censure, enforced by the weight of our apostolical authority, no regard whatsoever being had to the occasion or excuse which may be assigned. That so you may carry into execution this our mandate in a diligent and effective manner; and that as the aforesaid king is stated to have exhibited a spirit of pious and benevolent obedience to our wishes, in making you restitution of the tithes, as well as of your other ecclesiastical dues, and in attending to all matters pertaining to church liberty, so you on the other hand may steadfastly maintain for him all privileges belonging to the royal dignity, and exert yourselves as far as in you lies, to have the like maintained by others.

all obstinate
rebels
against

so generous
a friend of
the Church.

“Dated at Tusculum, Sep. 20.”

No. XIV.—POPE ALEXANDER III. TO KING HENRY II.

“Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our son well-beloved in Christ, Henry, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolical benediction.

The opening
salutation.

“It is not without very lively sensations of satisfaction that we have learned, from the loud voice of public report, as well as from the authentic statements of particular individuals, of the expedition which you have made, in the true spirit of a pious king and magnificent prince against that nation of the Irish, (who in utter disregard of the fear of God, are wandering with unbridled licentiousness into every downward course of crime, and who have cast away the restraints of the Christian reli-

The king
praised for
his magni-
ficent crusade
against the
base Irish.

gion, and of morality, and are destroying one another with mutual slaughter;)—and of the magnificent and astonishing triumph which you have gained over a realm, into which, as we are given to understand, the Princes of Rome, the triumphant conquerors of the world, never in their days of glory pushed their arms;—a success to be attributed to the ordering of the Lord, by whose guidance, as we undoubtedly do believe, your serene highness was led to direct the power of your arms against that uncivilized and lawless people.

The Hibernian abominations exemplified in some particular cases;

as incest, eating flesh in Lent, disrespect for the Church, &c.

“For, not to refer at present to the other enormities and crimes, in which this people, in their disregard for the restraints of the Christian religion, indulge themselves with abundant profanity;—it appears from the statements of our venerable brethren, Christian bp. of Leamoor, legate of the apostolic see, and the archbishops and bishops of Ireland in their letter to us, and also from the testimony of our beloved son R. archdeacon of Llandaff, (a person of discretion and prudence, and one attached to your Majesty’s royal person by a bond of no ordinary devotedness,) who was himself a trustworthy eye-witness of the facts, and reported them orally to us, in a manner that shewed at once his prudence, and the interest he felt in them;—that the people aforesaid (as your Serene Majesty may possibly have learned more fully from other sources) are in the habit of bringing their own stepmothers into their houses openly, and blush not to beget children from them; the brother abuses his brother’s wife, while he still lives; one person will connect himself with two sisters for his concubines; and it is a common practice among them to forsake a mother and bring in her daughters. And they all universally eat flesh meat in Lent, and pay no tithes, and shew none of that respect which they ought to entertain for God’s holy churches or for ecclesiastical persons.

“But now, that in the mercy of God, His inspiration

has roused your mind (as we learn from the communication of those same archbishops and bishops, and the more full and express tidings brought us by the archdeacon aforesaid,) to effect the subjugation of that people to your own sovereignty, by a junction of your magnificent land and sea forces, and to exterminate from it such abominable filthiness as we have referred to; for this we entertain due feelings of joy and gratitude, and take occasion therefrom to render our devout thanksgivings unto Him from whom every good proceeds, and who orders the pious acts and wills of His faithful people, according to His own good pleasure for the furtherance of their salvation; beseeching the Almighty Lord, in our votive prayers, to grant, that, as by the influence of your Majesty those practices so contrary to all law, which have been prevalent in the land aforesaid, are already beginning to decline, so also by the Lord's assistance, the people aforesaid may through your instrumentality be led to forsake their lewd and sinful courses, and adopt in its full integrity the discipline of the Christian religion—to the gaining for you of an unfading crown of everlasting glory, and to the promoting of the salvation of their souls.

The pope's acknowledgment of Henry's divine inspiration, piety, missionary spirit, &c.

“We therefore desire of your Royal Excellency,—we admonish and exhort you in the Lord,—and enjoin it upon you [as a means] for [obtaining] the remission of your sins, that you strengthen and brace your mind to a higher degree of energy in that undertaking, wherein you have made so laudable a commencement; and that you make use of your power to reduce that people to the observance of the Christian religion, and to retain them therein. That as you have spent your labour against them already with a view to obtaining, as we believe, the remission of your sins, so for promoting their progress in the way of salvation, you may be counted worthy to receive the crown everlasting.

He urges the monarch to use his royal power in reducing the Irish to the observance of the Christian religion;

and is careful to insert a good word at the close on behalf of the Church.

“And as your Highness’s Excellency is aware that the Church of Rome has by right an authority over islands different from what she possesses over the main land and continent, having therefore such a confident hope in the fervor of your devotion, as to believe that it would be your desire, not only to conserve, but also to extend, the privileges of the said Church, and to establish her jurisdiction, as you are in duty bound, where she has none at present; we ask, and earnestly exhort, your highness to use your anxious diligence to preserve to us the privileges belonging to St. Peter in the land aforesaid. That so we may be in duty bound to render abundant thanks to your royal eminence, and you may appear as presenting for an offering to God the first fruits of your glory and triumph.

“Dated at Tusculum, Sep. 20.”

NO. XV.—POPE ALEXANDER III. TO THE NOBLES OF IRELAND.

The salutation, to the princes, &c., of Ireland.

They are flattered with pleasant suggestions on the improved prospects of their country;

“Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved children the noblemen, kings, and princes of Ireland, greeting and apostolical benediction.

“When it became known to us from public report, as well as from unquestionable testimony of particular individuals, that you had received for your king and Lord our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Henry the illustrious king of the English, and that you had sworn fealty to him, our feelings of heartfelt joy on the occasion were proportionate to the increase of tranquillity and peace which is likely to result in your country from the power of the said king, the Lord assisting, and the prospect that the Irish people who for this time past were seeming to have gone far astray from God in the enormity and lewdness of their crimes, will now receive in-

struction likely to render them more interested in divine worship, and be better grounded in the discipline of the Christian religion.

"But however as to your having voluntarily sub- and com-
jected yourselves to a monarch so magnificent and pow- mended for
erful, and one who is such a devout son of the Church, their pru-
your prudence herein we must mark with its due dence in
commendation, inasmuch as it may be hoped that no incon- submitting
siderable advantages will thence result to yourselves, to king
the Church, and to the people of your country in gen- Henry II.
eral.

"We therefore earnestly admonish and command your The pope
noble body to be careful to maintain firm and inviolate, encourages
in all due subjection, the fealty which you have promised, them to be
with the solemn sanction of your oath, to this mighty very loyal to
prince. And shew your obedience and attachment to him their new
in such a spirit of gentleness and humility, that you may sovereign.
be continually gaining increasing favor at his hands,
and that we may feel ourselves in duty bound to ex-
press our commendation of your prudence as is meet."

NO. XVI.—POPE ALEXANDER III. TO RODERIC O'CONOR.

"TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS KING OF THE IRISH.—ON THE SUBJECT OF
A COUNCIL TO BE HELDEN IN HIS COUNTRY."

"In the letter of your Highness received with due The pope
sensations of benevolence, we observe with very much expresses
gratitude and satisfaction, that spirit of faith and devo- his grati-
tion which we know that you, as a Catholic Prince and tude for
most Christian King, steadily maintain towards B. Peter king Rode-
and ourselves. And we have to commend in the Lord ric's devo-
with due encomiums the existence of such a spirit on the tion to
part of your Eminence, rendering our fullest acknow- "the apos-
tolic see."

ledgments to your Serene Highness for the care which you have taken in receiving to your royal benevolence our beloved son, Subdeacon O. sent some time since to your quarters for the purpose of holding a council there; and for your readiness in treating him with all the honour suited to your character and to his.

and his willingness to return such kindness as opportunity might offer.

His gracious reception of the abbot of Mellifont;

and concluding exhortations to the Irish king to be loyal to Rome.

"On which grounds of high esteem for your faith and sincerity, we are confirmed in our will and purpose, always to receive your petitions with favourable attention, and to seek after the honour and glory of your Highness in all cases where, with the assistance of God, we may have opportunity.

"For the present however, we desire to intimate to your Excellency, that we have given a benign reception to our well-beloved son the abbot of Mellifont, whom your Serene Highness has recommended to us; and we have been careful to give him a satisfactory audience in his just petition. We therefore entreat of your Magnificence, and exhort you in the Lord, to persevere, steadfast and immoveable, in Catholic unity and in your devotion to your Mother the H. Roman Church, and to us. That you may in this way both secure the prize of the everlasting recompense, and also establish a claim to favours continually increasing from the Apostolic see and from ourselves."

Of the Synod alluded to in the above Epistle, the following brief account is given in the *Annals of the Four Masters* :

Account of the Synod above-mentioned from the Four Masters.

"A.D. 1172. A general Synod of Ireland, both of the clergy and chief laity, was held at Tuam in Connaught, at which Rory O'Conor, and Cadhla O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, presided. Three churches were consecrated."

It must have been held (as Dr. Lanigan observes, E. H. iv. 217,) after the Synod of Cashel; and perhaps was got up under the influence of the archbishop Cadhla, or Catholicus, (who had already assisted in that Synod, *vid. p. 514 sup.*) partly, at least, in order to confirm and extend the authority of its arrangements through the province of Tuam.

Its object perhaps to establish the Cashel arrangements for Tuam province.

No. XXXVIII.

SOME ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ANTI-BRITISH AND ANTI-IRISH POLICY OF THE ANGLO-NORMANS.

In *Giraldus Cambrensis* we meet with some curious and interesting illustrations of the spirit which actuated Henry II. and his successors, in their dealings with the affairs of the people of Wales and Ireland respectively. A few specimens of the kind are here subjoined.

Notes from *Giraldus* on the national antipathy felt by the Anglo-Norman rulers against the Welsh.

In our author's Treatise *de Rebus a se Gestis*, we find a notice of the efforts made use of, by the archdeacon and some of the canons of the church of St. David's, to save if possible, the ancient rights and independence of their see from the encroachments of the Normans; (*vid. Wharton's Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 475. Lond. 1691.)

An attempt to save the rightful independence of the church of St. David's;

how met by
the king of
England

"Having attempted however in the first instance to sound the king's feelings, in order to see whether he could be induced to consent, and having made an offer, as well to the king himself as to his counsellors, of a very considerable sum of money, in return for the favour sought of them, after having laboured most strenuously to gain their object, that monarch, *i. e.* Henry II., being of a morose turn in his replies, they at last received this answer;—that the king, as long as he lived, would never permit such a thing, nor give the capital see of Wales to the Welshmen, to set up an archbishop there for an enemy to England."

Grounds of
Giraldus for
declining
various bi-
shoprics
proposed for
his accep-
tance.

Ib. p. 614. "And if Giraldus had been disposed to receive promotion through the power of secular princes, he might long ere this have strutted about with high head as well as others. For there were offered to him two bishoprics in Wales, both of which he refused; and in Ireland, three bishoprics and one archbishopric, all which he refused in like manner. [Giraldus intimates that those bishoprics were the following, *viz.*, *Gueiseford*, (Wexford, or Ferns,) *Ossiry*, and *Leclelin*, (Leighlin,) and the archbishopric, that of *Cashel*. Those first mentioned above he declined for certain reasons by him there stated, and the others, especially those last offered] because the people of Ireland, aye or the Welshmen either, would never elect any stranger, however worthy or fit he might be, unless under the influence of a violent straining of public power."

In the same volume at p. 521 (*Treatise on the Condition and Privileges of the Church of Menevia*,) we meet with the following instructive passage:

'Thereupon, when the clergy of Menevia had become

fully certain that the king of the English would never allow the appointment of a prelate for the principal church of Wales from a people that were his most bitter enemies, i. e. the Welshmen, getting alarmed for their own hide and for their property, on account of the power of government, which was exercised with rather too much vigour for them in the territories of Demetia and Menevia, as they durst not elect a mere Welshman, adopting a sort of middle course, they elected one of mixed race, namely Giraldus, whose origin was derived in part from each of the two nations, viz., the British and the Normans, . . . And yet after all . . . for presuming to make their election or nomination independently of the king's assent, which was rendered necessary by the abusive practice then prevalent, they were subjected by the king's officials to a spoliation of their property and incomes. For at that time it was a sort of rule in England that 'no Welshman, nor even any person born in Wales, (although an Anglican, and most worthy of the dignity,) on account of the habits and feelings which are generally contracted in the common intercourse of life, may be promoted to a bishopric in Wales; but rather, some person of English birth, even though he be regarded in his own country as a most worthless and good-for-nothing character, is to be preferred to any one born in Wales, be he never so respectable and highly thought of.' For this is the opinion, and as we may say, the recorded verdict, of the English, that the man vile and abject in England is worthy and creditable in Wales. 'Bad Englishman, good Welshman.' That is, 'He that is bad for England will do well for Wales.' But now that, in the mercy of God, the Church, both in England and in Wales, has been allowed a time for taking breath, and shaken off to a large extent its yoke of bondage, &c." [they have summoned up spirit and courage to elect a mere Welshman.]

The Welsh clergy persecuted by the Anglo-Norman secular power for attempting to exercise their lawful rights.

"A bad Englishman makes a good enough Welshman!"

N.B.—In A.D. 1215 king John, in his compliance with the wishes of the pope, granted the Cathedral Churches of England the liberty of free election of their prelates.

No. XVII

SUMMARY OF THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION OF THE SEE OF DUBLIN.

The following summary contains a concise account of all the prelates who have presided over the see of Dublin

NO.	NAME.	DATE.	NATIVE COUNTRY.
BISHOPS.			
1	Donat or Dunan . . .	1038—1074 . . .	Irish Ostman
2	Patrick	1074—1084 . . .	Do.
3	Donat O'Haingly . . .	1085—1095 . . .	Irishman
4	Samuel O'Haingly . . .	1095—1121 . . .	Do.
ARCHBISHOPS.			
5	Gregory	1121—1161 . . .	. . . . .
6	Laurence O'Toole . . .	1162—1180 . . .	Ireland
7	John Comyn	1181—1212 . . .	England
8	Henry de Loundres . . .	1212—1228 . . .	Do.
9	Luke	1228—1255 . . .	[Do. as I suppose. R.E.]
10	Fulk de Saundford . . .	1256—1271 . . . <i>See vacant 7 years.</i>	Saundford in Oxfordshire.
11	John de Derlington . . .	1279—1284 . . .	Derlington, in the bishoprick of Durham
12	John de Saundford . . .	1284—1294 . . .	Oxfordshire, [brother to 10.]

since the commencement of a regular succession in the appointment of bishop Donatus, in the eleventh century. The native country of each is given, so far as the records which remain allow. In some cases where it is omitted, the name and former office of the person concerned will sufficiently indicate whether he were Irish or not. A reference to the corresponding page in Harris's *Ware* is annexed to each name for the convenience of the reader. (See also No. 68 *inf.*)

NO.	MODE OF APPOINTMENT.	FORMER OFFICES.
1		<i>Ref. to page in Ware's Bps.</i>
2	Elected in Ireland (vid. p. 421 sup.)	
3	Do. do. (p. 426 sup.)	Benedictine monk at Canterbury. (209)
4	Do. do. (p. 429 sup.)	Benedictine monk. (310)
5	Do. do. (p. 433 sup.)	
6	Do. do.	Abbot of Glendaloch. (312)
7	Recommended by Henry II., and elected by Dublin clergy at Evesham in Worcestershire	(314)
8	Elected	Archdeacon of Stafford. (316)
9	Elected by interest of Hubert Earl of Kent, whose chaplain he was; confirmed by P. Gregory IX. 1230.	Dean of St. Martin's, London, and Treasurer of the king's wardrobe. (320)
10	Declared archbishop by papal bull	Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Treasurer of St. Paul's, London. (321)
11	Declared by pope	Dominican friar, and Confessor to the late king Henry III. (324)
12	Canonically elected; confirmed by the king and by the pope, who pretended to promote him	Franciscan friar, and for a time Echeator of Ireland. (325)

NO.	NAME.	DATE.	NATIVE COUNTRY.
13	William de Hothum . . .	1297. Ob. eod. an.	England
14	Richard de Ferings* . . .	1299—1306 . . .	. . . . .
15	John Lech	1310—1313 . . .	. . . . .
16	Alexander de Bicknor . . .	1317—1349 . . .	. . . . .
17	John de St. Paul . . .	1349—1362 . . .	. . . . .
18	Thomas Mynot . . .	1363—1375 . . .	. . . . .
19	Robert de Wikeford . . .	1375—1390 . . .	Wikeford Hall in Essex
20	Robert Waldby . . .	1391—1395 Resigned	City of York ['it is said']
21	Richard Northalls . . .	1396—1397 . . .	Near London [it is said]
22	Thomas Cranley . . .	1397—1417 . . .	England
23	Richard Talbot . . .	1417—1449 . . .	. . . . .
24	Michael Tregury . . .	1449—1471 . . .	Cornwall
25	John Walton . . .	1473—1484. Resigd being blind and infirm.	. . . . .
26	Walter FitzSimon† . . .	1484—1511 . . .	. . . . .
27	William Rokeby . . .	1511—1521 . . .	Yorkshire

* After De Ferings, Nicholas Butler, bishop elect,

NO.	MODE OF APPOINTMENT.	FORMER OFFICES.
13	By provision of Pope Boniface VIII.	Dominican friar. Twice Provincial of that order in England, and then ambassador at Rome from Ed. I. (326)
14	Was nominated by the pope and got provisors, but confirmed by the king	Archdeacon of Canterbury. (327)
15	Succeeded by favour of Edward II., the pope confirming	Almoner to King Edward II. (329)
16	Elected, with approval of the king; and at last confirmed by provision of Pope John XXI.	Prebendary of Maynooth, and then Treasurer of Ireland. (330)
17	Advanced by papal provision . .	Canon of Dublin. (332)
18	Succeeded by pope's provision .	Prebendary of Malahide, &c. (333)
19	By provision of Pope Gregory II. Avignon	Dr. of Civil and Canon Law, Oxford, and for a time Fellow of Merton College. (ib.)
20	Translated by papal bull; afterwards made archbp. of York	Bishop of Aire in Gascony, and previously Divinity Professor at Toulouse. (334)
21	Advanced by Richard II. with consent of the pope	Bishop of Ossory, and previously Carmelite friar of London. (336)
22	Appointed by King Richard II. .	D.D., Fellow of Merton College, Warden of New College, and for a time Chancr. of the University of Oxford. (ib.)
23	. . . . .	(Precentor of Hereford, <i>M.S.n.f</i>) Privy Councillor, twice Justice of Ireland, once Chancellor. (339)
24	By papal provision	D.D. Oxford, Governor of the College of Caen in Normandy, founded by Henry V. (ib.)
25	(Was adorned with pall, 1473) .	Abbot of Osney, near Oxford. (341)
26	By provision of Pope Sixtus IV., confirmed by the king's pardon	B.C.C.L. Chantor of St. Patrick's, Dublin. (343)
27	Translated by Pope Julius II. .	Made Bishop of Meath by Pope Julius II., 1507, Privy Councillor to Henry VIII., Chancellor of Ireland about 1515. (345)

held the temporalities four years in dispute.

NO.	NAME.	DATE.	NATIVE COUNTRY.
28	Hugh Inge	1521—1534 . . .	Shipton Mallet in Somersetshire
29	John Allen	1528—1534 . . .	. . . . .
30	George Browne . . .	1535—1554 Deprived	. . . . .
31	Hugh Curwin . . .	1555—1567 Resigned	Westmoreland . .
32	Adam Loftus	1567—1605 . .	Swinshead, Yorkshire .

[*N. B.—The Regal Supremacy having been by this time fully established in the Irish Church, it is unnecessary to specify any further the mode of appointment of the successors to the see.*]

23. Thomas Jones, 1606—1619, of Lancashire; Bishop of Meath. (H. 354)

24. Lancelot Bulkeley, 1619—1650, Anglesey; Archdeacon of Dublin. (355)

(See vacant for ten years.)

25. James Margetson, 1660—1663, Resigned; Treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin; afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; Dean of Christ Church, Dublin; educated at Cambridge. (357)

26. Michael Boyle, 1663—1678, resigned; an Irishman; Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross; afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. (ib.)

27. John Parker, 1678—1681; Archbishop of Tuam. (ib.)

28. Francis Marsh, 1681—1698; Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. (358)

29. Narcissus Marsh, 1694—1702, resigned; Archbishop of Cashel; afterwards of Armagh. (ib.)

30. William King, 1702—1729; Antrim; Bishop of Derry. (366)

31. John Hoadly, 1729—1743, Resigned; afterwards Archbishop of Armagh; previously Archdeacon of Salisbury. (369, 452)

32. Charles Cobbe, 1743—1765; Bishop of Kildare. (MS. C.)

33. William Carmichael, 1765 Ob. eod.; Bishop of Meath. (ib.)

34. Arthur Smyth, 1766—1771; Bishop of Meath. (ib.)

35. John Cradock, 1772—1778; Bishop of Kilmore. (ib.)

NO.	MODE OF APPOINTMENT.	FORMER OFFICES.
28	By designation of the pope . .	Bishop of Meath, successor to Rokeby, Chancellor of Ireland, 1527, previously Fellow of New College, D.D. and enjoyed several successive promotions in England. (346)
29	Appointed by interest of Cardinal Wolsey	D.D., Treasurer of St. Paul's, London, M.A. Cambridge, Chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey. (1b.)
30	Advanced by King Henry VIII.	D.D., of Augustin Friars, and Provincial of that order in London. (348)
31	Advanced by Queen Mary, with sanction of the pope	Dean of Hereford and Archdeacon of Oxford. (352)
32	Promoted by Queen Elizabeth .	Chaplain to Sussex and Queen Elizabeth, Rector of Painstown. (353)

46. Robert Fowler, 1778—1801; of Trinity College, Cambridge; Bishop of Killaloe. (1b.)

47. Charles Agar, 1801—1809; Archbishop of Cashel. (1b.)

48. Euseby Cleaver, 1809—1820; Bishop of Ferns. (1b.)

49. John G. Beresford, 1820—1822, Resigned; Bishop of Clogher.

50. William Magee, 1822—1831.

51. Richard Whately, 1831; Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford.

† *M.S. notes* in a copy of Harris's Ware in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, purchased at the sale of the late Austin Cooper, with *M.S. additions* by that gentleman from various sources, as stated by him in an entry dated April, 1806.

‡ Fitz Simon joined with the Earl of Kildare in the Rebellion against King Henry VII. in behalf of Lambert Simnel, was instrumental in crowning that impostor, and in 1488(a) among others, had his pardon. The petition and submission(b) of *Jenico Merks*, Mayor of Dublin, and other citizens in 1487 to king Henry VII. explain this particular, as they also excuse *Octavian de Palatio*, Archbishop of Armagh. "We were daunted," say they, "not only to see your chief governour, whom your Highness made ruler over us, to bend or bow to that idol, whom they made us to obey; but also our Father of Dublin, and most of the Clergy of this nation, excepting the Rev. Father his Grace *Octavianus* Archbishop of Armagh."

(a) *Edgcombe's Voyage*, *M.S.* [vid. Harris's *Hibernica*.]

(b) Ware's *M.S.* extracts from the records of the city of Dublin, (quoted in Harris's Ware, 343).

Historical
account of
the proceed-
ings con-
nected with
L. Simnel's
bellion.

[It may be satisfactory for the unlearned reader that we should add in this place a somewhat more particular notice of the circumstances connected with the rebellion of this Lambert Simnel than it was found convenient to give in the text at p. 666 sup. For the details connected with this matter which are here subjoined, we are indebted principally to Stuart's History of Armagh.

State of pub-
lic feeling
in Ireland
relative to
the houses
of York and
Lancaster.

(Stuart, p. 204.) The adherents of the York family, Henry VII. having no hereditary claim on the throne, were ready to join in any plan for his overthrow, especially seeing how contemptuously they were treated by him. In Ireland the people were hostile to the house of Lancaster, and the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Deputy, had proved himself a zealous and powerful friend of the late King Edward. Henry therefore commanded him by letters, in the year 1486 to repair to England. But Kildare got the lords of the realm to state to his Majesty that his departure might be very prejudicial to some affairs of high moment to the country then in actual progress through parliament, and to pray that he might be suffered to remain till the conclusion of the business. Among the clergy who signed these letters to the king, were Octavian Archbishop of Armagh, and Fitz Simons Archbishop of Dublin; and so Kildare stayed, hoping eventually to serve the house of York.

Simnel's
origin and
scheme for
advancement.

Meanwhile Richard Symon or Simons, an Oxford priest, had instructed Lambert Simnel, a comely boy of low rank, to personate Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, (only son of George Duke of Clarence, brother the late King Edward,) who was imprisoned in the

Tower by Henry, and was now said to have effected his escape.

Simnel accordingly (p. 205 *ib.*) came to Dublin, and told his story to the Lord Deputy Kildare, who believed or affected to believe it. And the people readily commiserated his alleged sufferings, and treated him with kindness and respect, regardless, in the impulse of the moment, of the prior claims of Edward's daughter. A great majority of the nobility, gentry, and people, joined Simnel; and Kildare presently summoned a council which declared itself satisfied as to the claims of this pretender to royal origin; within a few days after which he was crowned as Edward VI.

His reception in Dublin.

In the midst of this almost general defection Octavian stood firm in his allegiance (p. 206) to King Henry; and continuing to regard Simnel as an impostor, wrote to the pope to express to him that he was convinced of this; whereupon the pope granted to King Henry a bull dated the 6th of the Kalends of April, in which all bishops were commanded to excommunicate rebels, whenever the king should require them to do so; which afterwards proved very useful to Henry VII.

Conduct of Octavian, Abp. of Armagh, at this crisis.

He gets a bull aimed at the king's enemies.

(p. 207.) In May, 1486, Simnel was crowned in Christ Church, in presence of the Lord Deputy, &c. The Archbishop of Armagh remonstrated and refused to be present, ceasing also to associate with Kildare or his party any further.

Coronation of Simnel.

Simnel after this proceeded with his Irish forces to the invasion of England, but was entirely defeated and his army routed at the battle of Stoke, June 30, 1487. Having been himself taken prisoner, he was by way of ridicule of his pretensions appointed a turnspit in the royal kitchen, (Stuart, p. 208,) but after raised to the more dignified position of falconer to the king.

His overthrow.

(p. 209.) Henry pardoned the Earl of Kildare for his part in this rebellion, and continued him in his office of Lord Deputy of Ireland.

The Earl of Kildare pardoned.

A statement
of Ware's
on this mat-
ter consid-
ered.

Ware says that the Archbishop of Armagh also was pardoned among the rest; which however seems to be a mistake, as Octavian was opposed to Simnel from the first. Moreover the delinquent ecclesiastics were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to King Henry, before they could be absolved from an excommunication which he had caused under the pope's bull to issue against them. Ware gives the names of the prelates and ecclesiastics who took the oath and were absolved, in July, 1488, and Octavianus is not among them. On the contrary he was employed in administering the oath of allegiance on the 26th of the said month to various individuals that had been partizans of Simnel.

(Vid. *Bacon's Life of Henry VII.*, p 588, &c. Lond. 1706. *Ware's Annals*, Henry VII. *Cox*, Vol. 1, &c.)]

Archbishop
Fitz Simon
permitted
by parlia-
ment to col-
late Irish
clerks to
certain be-
nefices for
two years.

In connection with the name of Archbishop Fitz Simon, (which has furnished occasion for the preceding observations,) there is another circumstance on record which seems worth noticing in this place; and which will be sufficiently explained to the reader from the tenor of an act, (2nd Richard 3.) passed in the year 1484, to the following effect;—"That whereas divers benefices of ye Dio^e of Dublin are situated among Irish enemies, of which ye advowsons belong to ye Abp. of Dublin, in right of his see, and as no Englishman can inhabit ye said benefices, and divers English clerks, who are enabled to have cure of souls are not expert in ye Irish language, and such of them as are expert disdain to inhabit among ye Irish people, and others dare not inhabit among them, by which means divine service is diminished, and the cure of souls neglected, It is therefore enacted that Walter Fitz Symond Abp. of Dublin may for two years collate Irish clerks to ye said benefices, without any impeachment from ye king, his heirs, officers, or ministers, any act to ye contrary, notwithstanding, provided such benefices be sworn to allegiance."

Again, (8 Hen. 7) this Abp. had ye same privilege granted him in general by another act of parliament.—Rolls. (See the MS. additions in the copy of Harris's Ware above-mentioned, at p. 1101.)

‡ Polydore Virgil (Hist. Ang. p. 677, ed. 1578) says that Hugh Hynk "had put the kingdom in as good a condition as the untowardness of the wild Irish would suffer him." (H. 346.)

Archbishop Inge's efforts to improve the wild Irish.

No. XVIII.

SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSION OF PRELATES IN THE PRIMATEAL SEE OF ARMAGH.

The following list of the prelates who from the time of St. Patrick have successively occupied the chief see of Ireland, is taken, like the preceding one, from Ware's works, as edited by Harris, Dublin, 1739. It must however be confessed that the chronology and other particulars relating to the names which occur in the former part of the list are somewhat uncertain, and open to question. As being however the most complete enumeration attainable from the best sources, the catalogue cannot but be regarded as interesting and valuable.

Character of the catalogue of names here given.

	<i>Ref. to page in Harris's Ware.</i>	
Patrick, A.D. 445. Resigned 455, appointing	(1, 21)
S. Binen, 455. Resigned 465	(34)
Jarlath, 465, ob. 482	(35)
Cormac, 482—497	(36)

Cormac is said (in the Vit. Tripartita S. P.) to have visited

Connaught (where he had been educated by the bishops Domnal, Comitius, Connetus, and Darbon,) in the exercise of his primatial power.

Dubtach I., 497—513 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Ailid I., 513—526 ..	..	..	..	..	(37)
Ailid II., 526—536 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Dubtach II., 536—548 ..	..	..	..	..	(38)
David, 548—551 ..	..	..	..	..	—

Surnamed Mac Guaire Hua Farannan, some annals at least have him, and make him legate of all Ireland. [Which speaks not much for their credibility.]

Feldlimid, 551—578 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Cairlan, 578—588 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Eochaid, 588—598 ..	..	..	..	..	(39)
Senach, 598—610 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Mac Laisir, 610—623 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Thomian (Mac Ronan) 623—661 ..	..	..	..	..	—

"By general suffrage elected," Colgan, A.A. 88. 53. He was concerned in the Paschal controversy, but it does not appear on which side. See the fragment of a letter, on this subject, and that of the Pelagian heresy, written by the Roman clergy to Thomian and the other bishops, abbots, and priests of Ireland, in Bed. Ec. Hist. ii. 19 .. (40)

Segene, 661—688 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Flan Febia, 688—715 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Suibhney, 715—730 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Congusa, 730—750 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Cele Peter, 750—758 ..	..	..	..	..	(41)
Ferdachry, 758—768 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Foendalach, 768. Resigned 771 ..	..	..	..	..	—

There are irreconcilable differences in our writers concerning the succession at this period.

Dubdalethy I., 778. Ob. 793 ..	..	..	..	..	(42)
Afla, 793—794 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Cudiniscus, 794—798 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Connach, 798—807 ..	..	..	..	..	—

At the request of Connach in 799, the abbot Fothadius drew up a remonstrance against the obliging of the clergy to attend the royal army on warlike expeditions, which was presented to the king, and proved effectual for their exemption.

Tortach Mac Gorman, 807—808 ..	..	..	..	..	—
Nuad Mac Segene, 808—812 ..	..	..	..	..	(43)

Nuad made a visitatorial circuit in Connaught, the first by a bishop of Armagh, since the days of Cormac, the third from St. Patrick.

Fiangus Mac Loingie, 812—822.

Artrigius, 822—833 (43)

He visited in 822 the whole province of Munster, being probably the first who since the days of St. Patrick had exercised his primatial rights in that district by visitatorial circuit. In 824 he also visited Connaught

The Ulster Annals state that about this period the law of St. Patrick was propagated throughout Munster by Phelim Mac Crifan its monarch, and Artrige Archbishop of Armagh. Ussher thought that this law was a monastic rule, [Primord. 1060,] but Colgan conceived [more correctly it would seem] that it related to the metropolitan jurisdiction, and the power of visiting and exacting certain provisions and dues from the province. The same law was subsequently established in Connaught. (See *Colton's Visn. of Derry*, by Reeves.)

Eugene (Monaster), 833—834 (45)

Farannan, 834—848. Resigned

Dermod O'Tigernach, 848—853

Fachtna, 853—874

Ainnire, 874—875 (46)

Cathasach Mac Robartach, 875—883

Malcol Mac Crumvall, 883—885

Maelbrigd Mac Dornan, 885—997

A.D. 889. A tumult and sedition having been excited in Armagh at the feast of Pentecost, between the Princes of Tirone, (with his people,) and Down (with his,) the faction was quelled by the interference of Primate Maelbrigd, who to punish their marked irreverence towards the Church of God, and their open disrespect of St. Patrick, fined each party 200 oxen, exacted hostages for their future good conduct, and caused six of the most active of "the boys" on each side to be executed on a gallows.

Joseph, 927—936, "prince of Armagh" (48)

Melpatrick Mac Meltule, "prince of Armagh," 936

Cathasach II, Mac Dulgen, 937—957

Muiredach Mac Fergus, 957. Dep. 966

Dubdalethy II., Mac Kellach, 966—998

He is said by Colgan to have been elected the chief moderator of all St. Columba's congregations in Ireland and in Albanian Scotia.

Murechan, 999. Resigned 1001 (49)

Malmury or Marian, 1001—21

In his days Brian Boru was slain.

Amalgaid, 1021—50

This prelate at the commencement of his primacy made a visitatorial circuit through Munster. He was father of the archbishops Malila and Donald, and had for suffragan Maltillus.

Dubdalethy III., 1050—85	..	..	..	..	(50)
Colgan says he wrote an account of the archbishops of Armagh to his own time.					
Cumasach O'Herudan, 1065.	Resig. eod.	..	..	..	—
Malina Mac Amalgaid, 1065—1093	..	..	..	..	—
Visited Munster in 1069.					
Donald Mac Amalgaid, 1093—1106	..	..	..	..	(51)
He made in 1093 a visitatorial circuit through Cinel Eogain, and another through Munster in 1094.					
(Here end all catalogues derived from the Psalter of Cashel.)					

Celsus, 1106—1129	..	..	..	..	—
Maurice, 1129—1134	..	..	..	..	(54)
Malachy O'Morgair, 1134—1137.	Resigned, (appointed by Celsus)	—			
Gelasius Mac Roderic, 1137—1174, (appointed by Malachy)	..	..	..	..	(57)
Cornelius Mac Concaleda, 1174—1176	..	..	..	..	(61)
Gilbert O'Caran, 1176—1180	..	..	..	..	—
Maelias O'Carrol, 1184, Ob. eod.	He died on his journey to Rome to solicit the pope's confirmation, in compliance with the doctrine and practice in this matter introduced into Ireland a short time previously by Malachy, &c.				
Amlave O'Murid, 1184—1185	..	..	..	..	—
Thomas O'Connor, 1185—1201	..	..	..	..	(62)

Eugene Mac Gillivider, 1206—1216	..	..	..	..	—
This appears to have been the first primate of Ireland who was indebted for his elevation to a papal appointment, on the occasion mentioned at p. 619 sup. One result of the power which began after this to be exercised in all such appointments by the kings of England and the popes of Rome, was this, that few Irishmen, (or almost none of them,) were ever permitted to enjoy the distinction of primates in their own isle, but rather Englishmen, or others from beyond sea, as may easily appear even from inspection of the names which occur in the succeeding part of this catalogue.					
Lake	Netterville, Archdeacon of Armagh, 1220—1227.	(Vid. H. W. 62, 63)			
Elected by the chapter but rejected by the king for want of a Conge d'elire, (or king's license to proceed to election.) On a new election after a "Conge" had been granted, he was re-elected; confirmed afterwards by the king and pope, and consecrated by Stephen Langton					
..	..	..	..	..	(64, 65)

- Donat O'Fidabra, 1227—1237, Bishop of Clogher.** The pope, Gregory IX., appointed another, one Nicholas, a canon of Armagh. But Donat had possession first. He visited Rome in 1237. He was translated and obtained the royal assent .. (65)
- Albert of Cologne, 1240. Resigned 1247.** The see lay vacant three years, king Henry III. endeavouring to have Robert Archer a Dominican appointed. At last Albert was consecrated by the bishop of Worcester in presence of the king and the pope's legate. "He was fond of advancing the pope's usurped power, which brought him under the king's displeasure" .. (65, 66)
- Reiner, a Dominican friar, consecrated at Rome, 1247—1256.** He never returned to Ireland, but died in Rome in 1256 (66)
- Abraham O'Connellan, 1257—1260, elected, (having been archpresbyter of Armagh,) and confirmed by the king: but not content with these titles, applied for his provision, and obtained it and the pall, and the temporalities also after a struggle.. (67)**
- Patrick O'Scanlain, 1261—1270, Bishop of Raphoe, and Dominican friar.** Elected with the king's leave, and confirmed by the pope —
- Nicholas Mac Molissa, 1272—1303.** "He was an inveterate enemy to such Englishmen as were preferred to bishoprics in this kingdom;" and did all in his power to annoy and resist them. He became the head of an extraordinary ecclesiastical club, formed among the bishops of that day under his influence, concerning which, see the Article next following (69, 70)
- John Taaf, 1306—1306.** One Michael, a Franciscan friar, was elected by the Dean and Chapter, and obtained the royal assent; but was never consecrated. After a vacancy of three years J. T. succeeded by papal provision, and was consecrated, but died at Rome in 1306 without having seen his see after his consecration (71)
- Walter de Jorse, 1306—1311. Resigned; a Dominican friar, brother to Th. Jorse Cardinal of St. Sabina, consecrated by Nicholas Cardinal of Ostium; promoted by a provisional bull, which he renounced afterwards (72)**
- In his days raged the controversy about the carrying of the cross erect between the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin.
- Roland Jorse, 1311—1321, resigned; a Dominican friar, brother of Walter, succeeded by Pope's provision; was consecrated by Berenger, bishop of Tusculum, and obtained restitution of the temporalities. He resigned the archbishopric on the 26th of March, 1321, being it seems grieved on account of the impoverishing of his see by the ravages and devastations of Bruce and his Scots, and the perpetual demand of the pope for the fees of his promotion (80)**
- Stephen Segrave, 1322—1323, Rector of the church of Stepney near**

- London, elected Dean of Lichfield 1320; and for a time Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; succeeded by provision of pope John XXII. in 1322, and confirmed by King Edward II. after having first renounced his bulls .. (81)
- David O'Hiraghty, 1334—1346, consecrated at Avignon, and confirmed by the king. He made preparation for attending Parliament in 1337, but not being able to carry his cross erect, &c., took occasion to absent himself
- Richard Fitzralph, 1347—1360, born at Dundalk; educated at Oxford under the tuition of J. Bakenhorp, a great enemy of the begging friars; Chancellor of Oxford; Dean of Lichfield. Advanced by papal provision; consecrated at Exeter (82)
- The writings of this famous prelate have been already noticed at pp. 589, 654, 655 sup. Besides the Edition of his *Defensorium Curatorum* referred to in those places, there is another in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, printed in 1633. The title more fully given is *Richardi Archiepi. Armachani Hybernæ primatis Defensorium Curatorum adversus eos qui privilegatos se dicunt, habitum in Avenione in consistorio coram D. Papa Innocentio VI. and D. D. Card. ac Prelatis, anno Xti. 1337, &c. Parisiis 1633.* In this edition, the conclusions given at p. 654, sup. commence at pag. 2, last line; and the quotation relative to the friars' audacious practices (p. 589 sup.) at p. 39.
- Besides the passages of this work already given as illustrations of its contents, one other of a sufficiently curious and interesting character may be here subjoined, from p. 11 of the edition of 1633. It refers to the irregularities in ecclesiastical discipline caused by the interference of the mendicant orders: "I have," says the writer, "as I reckon, in my diocese of Armagh, two thousand subjects, who by reason of the sentences of excommunication annually enacted against wilful homicides, public robbers, incendiaries, and other such characters, have become involved in sentences of excommunication; out of whom there scarcely come fourteen in the year to me or my penitentiaries: and all such persons receive the sacraments like other people, and are spoken of as absolved; and this by none other but the friars. Not a doubt of it, when no others absolve them, they are yet said to be absolved." In connection with these remarks he applies to them that saying of St. Paul in Rom. i., that "They who do such things are worthy of death, and not they only, but also those who have pleasure in them."
- Milo Sweetman, 1361—1380. Treasurer to the Cathedral of Killenny; declared Archbishop of Armagh by Pope Innocent VI. (83)

- John Colton, 1382—1404.** Resigned. Was born in Norfolk; educated at Cambridge; Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; for a time Lord Chancellor and Lord Justice of Ireland; advanced to Armagh by provision of the pope, and restored his temporalities by the king; he was also employed as ambassador from Richard II. to the court of Rome. His reputation for learning, virtue, and amiability was very great. See p. 1063 *not. sup.* (84)
- Nicholas Fleming.** Succ. 1404. Ob. 1416. A secular priest; was declared archbishop by Pope Boniface IX.; sent as his proctor to the Council of Constance in 1415 (85)
- John Swayn, 1417.** Resigned 1429. Rector of Galtrim in Meath; consecrated at Rome about the beginning of February, 1417. His advancement was effected by provision of Martin III., recently made pope. He was afterwards, in the year 1421, sent by the parliament into England along with Sir Christopher Preston, to lay before Henry V. an account of the state of Ireland, and of the many grievances requiring to be redressed in that land.* In 1429, 1435, 1436, 1437, and 1438, being summoned to attend parliaments in Leinster, he made returns excusing his non-attendance on the ground that he would not be permitted by the Archbishop of Dublin to appear with his cross erect within the limits of his province. (Vid. pp. 630, 631 *sup.*) (85)
- John Prene, 1439—1442,** Archdeacon of Armagh; was appointed primate by provision of Pope Eugene IV. (86)
- John Mey, 1444—1456,** Official of the court of Meath, and vicar of the parish churches of Delvin and Kilmessan, *ibid.*; advanced by Pope Eugene IV.; had the same kind of work as his two predecessors relative to parliaments in Leinster; he granted 40 days' indulgence to all contributors to the great bell and repairs of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. He acted as deputy to the Earl of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in A.D. 1451 (Lel. ii. 37) (86)
- John Bole, 1457—1470;** Abbot of Navan, in which office he procured some indulgences from Pope Nicholas V. for the friends of his abbey. Edward IV. confirmed his privileges in the see of Armagh (86)

* In the petition of the Irish Parliament to Henry V., among other things they include complaints against the native enemies; and "as the Irish who had done homage to King Richard, had long since taken arms against the English, notwithstanding their recognisances payable in the apostolic chamber, they beseech his highness to lay their conduct before the pope, and to prevail on the holy Father to proclaim a crusade against them."—Lel. 2, 14. *Rot. Tur. Berw.*

- John Foxalls; after a four years' vacancy, the archbishopric was conferred on this individual by Pope Sixtus IV. He was a Franciscan. His death took place in England in the second year after his consecration; nor does it seem that he ever saw the diocese which he had been appointed to superintend (87)
- Edmund Connesburgh, 1477. Resigned 1479. King Edward IV. commanded the Lord Deputy and all his subjects to acknowledge no archbishop but him; the pope, it seems, being minded to displace him
- Octavian de Palatio, a Florentine, D.C.L., advanced by Pope Sixtus IV., having administered the see under his predecessor, and having induced him upon certain conditions to resign in his favour. Succ. 1480, ob. 1513. In one particular he is not to be named without due honour, that when King Henry VII. was deserted by most of the men of power in Ireland, he never could be persuaded to depart from his allegiance or join in their disloyal proceedings* (88)
- John Kite, 1513. Resigned 1521. Born in London; for a time ambassador from King Henry to Spain; advanced by provision of Pope Leo X.; confirmed by the king
- George Cromer, 1522, ob. 1542, "succeeded," and was consecrated in England; Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1532 (91)
- George Dowdall, 1543—1558; a native of Louth; succeeded by interest of the Lord Deputy St. Leger; consecrated by mandate of Henry VIII. During his time Robert Waucop assumed the title of primate of Ireland under the patronage of the pope; sup. and Art. XXVI. inf.) (92)
- but was not acknowledged in Ireland, although sitting as an Irish archbishop in the Council of Trent. (Vid. pp. 714, seqq.)
- In a provincial Synod holden at Drogheda by this prelate in A.D. 1556, he obtained for husbandmen and labourers a regulation allowing them to work on certain festivals. The enactment in question is referred to in the minutes of the titular provincial synod subsequently held in Drogheda in A.D. 1614, in the following terms:—"A statute and ordinance hath been

* "Octavian de Palatio, primate of Armagh, though a foreigner, and unconnected with the Irish factions, seems to have at first joined in the confederacy, but to have speedily repented and receded."—Leland, ii. 77. A papal bull was directed to the prelates who had not joined the rebellion "to inflict the usual ecclesiastical censures on the delinquent clergy, in which number were involved the primate of Armagh, (though he had refused to assist at the coronation of Stimmel,) the archbishop of Dublin, and the prelates of Meath and Kildare."—Let. ii. 96. See also *Rymer*, and pp. 1102—1104, sup.

enacted in the provincial Council holden in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, on the 12th day of the month of February, 1566, by the most reverend Lord and Father in Christ, George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland," &c. Then follows that on certain Saints' days people may work, although the service in the churches should still be kept up.

This furnishes an instance, if any were needed, of the recognition of Dowdall as lawful primate, even by those of the Irish who were the most conspicuous as partizans of Rome, and enemies of the Church of their own land.

- Adam Loftus, 1563. Resigned, 1563. Of Yorkshire, chaplain to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, &c. (94)
- Thomas Lancaster, 1568—1584; an Englishman; who had been Treasurer of Salisbury, and Chaplain to the Queen (95)
- John Long, 1584—1589; born in London; educated at Cambridge (96)
- John Garvey, 1589—1594; an Irishman from Kilkenny; educated at Oxford; Dean of Christ Church, Dublin; bishop of Kilmore; and privy councillor —
- Henry Usher, 1595—1613; a Dublin man; educated at Cambridge and Paris; archdeacon of Dublin (96, 97)
- Christopher Hampton, 1613—1634; born at Calais; student of Christ's College, Cambridge; a grave and learned prelate (97)
- James Usher, 1624—1656; born in Dublin; educated in Trinity College (97, 98)
- John Bramhall, 1660—1663; born in Yorkshire; bishop of Derry (116)
- James Margetson, 1663—1678, *ibid.*; Dean of Waterford, &c., and of Christ Church, Dublin (126)
- Michael Boyle, 1678—1702; archbishop of Dublin; Lord Chancellor of Ireland (130)
- Narcissus Marsh, 1702—1713; archbishop of Dublin, &c. (131)
- Thomas Lindsay, 1713—1724; born at Blandford in Dorsetshire; educated at Oxford; Dean of St. Patrick's, &c. —
- Hugh Bolter,* 1724—1742; archdeacon of Surrey; bishop of Bristol, &c., (133)
- John Hoadly, 1742—1746; archbishop of Dublin.
- George Stone, 1746—1764; bishop of Derry.
- Richard Robinson, 1764—1755; bishop of Kildare.
- William Newcome, 1795—1800; bishop of Dromore and subsequently of Waterford.
- William Stewart, 1800—1822; bishop of St. David's.
- LORD J. G. BREREFORD, 1822; archbishop of Dublin, &c. &c.

(*Whose life the Lord prolong!*)

* With this name Ware's Catalogue ends.

No. XXXIX.

THE CONFEDERATION OF THE ECCLESIASTICS OF IRELAND,
A.D. 1291.

Account of
the Irish
clerical con-
federation
of 1291,
from the
Registry of
Armagh.

For the document here subjoined I am indebted to my valued friend, the reverend, learned, and industrious W. Reeves, D.D. ; who furnished me with a copy of the original, transcribed by himself from the Register of Primate Swayne, preserved in Armagh. (Vid. Reg. Swayne, orig. fol. 51, a. & b., and 54 [rect. 53] a. Tr. vol. ii. pp. 203-208, Harris's Ware, i. 70.)

Opening ad-
dress of the
Primate and
other pre-
lates of Ar-
magh pro-
vince to all
churchmen.

“The Confederation of the Lord Primate and the three other Archbishops of Ireland, and of their Suffragans, Deans, Clergy, and Chapters.

“To all Sons of Holy Mother Church before whose notice this present letter may come, Nicholas by the grace of God Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, Thomas Meath, Nicholas Down, Peter Connor, Florence Derry, Matthew Clogher, Florence Rapho, Tigernach Dromore, Matthew Ardakad, Maurice Triburn, [i. e. Kilmore,] N. Clonmacnoise, bishops, by divine permission, the Deans and their chapters, and also the clerical bodies connected with those bishops who are without Deans and Chapters,* [wish] everlasting health in the Lord.

* The system of Dean and Chapter was of Anglican origin in Ireland, and in the Taxation of 1306 (Vid. Art. XXXI. *inf.*) there occur several Dioceses in which no mention is made of either. Until the Reformation the Corporation of Down Cathedral consisted of Bishop, Prior and Convent, and Archdeacon.

"For the Honour and Praise of Almighty God, blessed Mary the Virgin, all the Saints, and Holy Mother Church, be it known to you all, that we by a corporal oath* made on behalf of ourselves and our successors, have entered into a mutual obligation to one another ;— and also that we shall hold ourselves bound by a similar obligation to our venerable brethren† John of Dublin, William of Tuam, Stephen of Cashel, by the grace of God archbishops : [and to] Nicholas Leghlin, Nicholas Kildare, Richard Ferns, and Michael Ossory, of the Province of Dublin ; John Clonfert, Donogh Killala, Gelasius Elphin, Benedict Achonry, Laurence Kilmacduagh, of the Province of Tuam ; [and] Gerald Limerick, Robert Cork, Richard Lismore, Maurice Killaloe, Nicholas Cloyne, Walter Waterford, G. Kilfenora, William Emly, . . . Archfert,‡ . . . Ross, of the Province of Cashel, by divine permission, bishops ; [to the following effect, viz.]

"That if it shall happen that we, or any individuals, or individual, of our number, or the metropolitans of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, aforesaid ; their Suffragans, the Deans and Chapters belonging to the same ; or any individual or individuals among them ; our churches or theirs ; or any of their privileges, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, by us and our predecessors, them and their ancestors, obtained, and of old enjoyed as belonging to

Their contract with one another, and with the prelates of the three remaining provinces of Ireland,

to support and maintain at their common expense, all actions arising out of lay interference with privi-

* "A Corporal Oath is one made with outstretched hand, touching the Holy Gospels, or looking at them, or on the Cross of the Lord, or relics of the saints ;" such as the bells, croziers, &c., preserved among the old Irish for such purposes. See Du Cange's Glossary.

† The prelates here annexed would appear not to have been present in the meeting at Trim, which was in the province of Armagh. A dignitary from Ross or Ardferf would have found it a rather sore journey to have come in those days so far northwards.

‡ Ardferf was full in 1291, Nicholas being bishop. Ross also, Laurence being bishop : so that either the names were unknown at Trim, or what is more likely, illegible to the scribe who copied the document into the Registry of Archbishop Swayne.

leges
claimed by
any of their
number ;

the said churches, or to any particular ones, or to any single one of them, shall hereafter meet with undue impediment, annoyance, encroachment, oppression, or grievance, from persons, or person, invested with any lay jurisdiction or power whatsoever ;—we all unanimously promise, at our common expense, by subscriptions proportioned according to the several incomes of the churches belonging to us and them respectively, to engage in a common action, for the purpose of prosecuting, maintaining, and supporting, the burdens and defences of the parties aforesaid, collectively and individually, before any judges whatsoever, ecclesiastic or secular ;—on our being, or their being, or his being so required in this behalf, by any person or persons of us or from us, or from them, or any persons or person, acting as deputies or deputy, for us or for them, as the circumstances of the case may be.

and to make
good at
their com-
mon charge
all injuries
and losses
accruing to
any of their
agents on
account of
such trans-
actions ;

“ And if it shall happen that our agents, proctors, or executors, or theirs, or any individual or individuals of their number, who may be employed, or selected for employment, in the transacting or managing of matters of business pertaining to us or them, or of suits connected with the premises, in any court whatsoever, shall, in consequence of the aforesaid mission, proctorship, or executor's office incur, (what heaven forbid) loss or injury, in their persons or goods spiritual or temporal, from any lay power or jurisdiction ;—We will and grant that full restitution be made to them for their injuries and losses, all and singular, and the amount refunded to them without any delay, out of the property belonging to us, and to the three archbishops aforesaid, their Suffragans, Deans, and Chapters, in proportion to the several incomes of the churches appertaining to us and them respectively.

and to con-
firm and
carry out in

“ Furthermore, whatsoever sentences or sentence, the ordinary of a particular district shall denounce against

any delinquents or delinquent, that or those we will all and singular, publish and put effectively into execution in our several dioceses. Such sentences and interdicts as may be denounced by an ordinary in his own diocese, in consequence of any act of delinquency perpetrated by any individuals or individual, we consent and promise inviolably to observe, not only in the dioceses of the prelates who originally publish them, but also in all our provinces and dioceses; in this way, viz., that if a person be interdicted in any one place, whatsoever place he shall turn himself to, that place shall be interdicted so long as he shall remain in it, and also any place in which he shall have a residence, or the larger part of his property: provided always that we shall have received a requisition, by means of letters patent giving us notice to this effect.

all their dioceses, &c., all sentences of excommunication and interdict passed in any of them,

“Moreover, if we, the Archbishop of Armagh, or the three Archbishops aforesaid, or any individual or individuals among us, prove negligent, remiss, or lukewarm, individually or collectively, in the fulfilment or execution of the premises, or of any portion thereof, we undertake, and by virtue of the oath which we have made do firmly promise, and by the tenor of these presents do bind ourselves, and each one of us doth bind himself, that every person who shall not observe this present ordinance or obligation, shall pay by way of penalty, 500 marks, into the chamber of our Lord the Pope, and another 500 marks in like manner to our brethren who do observe this ordinance.

under a penalty of £666 13s. 4d. for violation of this contract by any of the archbishops;

“And if we the bishops aforesaid of Armagh, and the other bishops belonging to the other three provinces aforesaid, or any individual or individuals among us, prove negligent, remiss, or lukewarm, individually or collectively, in the fulfilment or execution of the premises, or of any portion thereof, we engage, and by virtue of the oath which we have made, do firmly promise,

and of £400 for such violation by any of the other prelates.

and by the tenor of these presents do bind ourselves, and each one of us doth bind himself, that every person of us who shall not observe the present ordinance or obligation, shall pay by way of penalty £200 into the chamber of our Lord the Pope, and another £200 in like manner to our brethren who shall observe this ordinance or obligation.

This bond not to lose its effect by reason of the absence of the signatures of some of those concerned.

All Irish prelates &c. refusing to join in the engagement to be complained of to the pope, and "put in Coventry."

The bond sworn to and sealed by the Armagh prelates.

The date.

"And if any archbishops or bishops, chapters or clerical bodies, in consequence of their absence or unwillingness, shall omit to affix their seals to the present instrument, we will and grant that the parties affixing their seals shall nevertheless be mutually bound to the observance of the premises all and singular, as is aforesaid; and that the present instrument shall not for this reason have the less force of obligation.

"And if moreover any archbishop, chapter, or clerical body, that may not have been present at the time of enacting this ordinance or obligation, shall, on being required to observe this form or obligation, refuse to do so, or take no heed thereunto; we engage, and by the tenor of these presents do firmly promise, to lay our complaint against him before the supreme pontiff, and at our common charges effectively to prosecute the said complaint against him;—nor may he obtain from us counsel or aid of any sort in transacting his own matters, or those connected with his church.

"The articles aforesaid all and singular, we do promise on the sanction or obligation of our oath aforesaid, firmly and faithfully to observe and maintain. In testimony and confirmation of which particulars, all and singular, our seals are appended to these presents.

"Given at Trym in Meath in the house of the preaching friars, on the Lord's day next following the Festival of St. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist. Anno Dni 1291."

No. XIX.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE NOBLES OF IRELAND TO POPE JOHN XXII.

(From the Scotichronicon of J. Fordun.)

"A.D. 1318. In the same year all the nobles of Ireland wrote to our lord the pope a sharp letter exposing the tyranny and false dealings of the English in the following terms :—

"To our most holy Father in Christ, the Lord John, by the grace of God supreme Pontiff, his attached children Donald O'Neyl, king of Ulster, and rightful hereditary successor to the throne of all Ireland; as well as the princes and nobles of the same realm, with the Irish people in general, present their humble salutations, approaching with kisses of devout homage to his sacred feet.

The salutation from D. O'Neyl, &c. to the pope.

"Lest the bitter and venomous calumnies of the English, and their unjust and unfounded attacks upon us and all who support our rights, may in any degree influence your mind, (though heaven forbid that it should be so,) or lest circumstances unknown to you, and made by them the subjects of misrepresentation, may seem to require some correction at your hands, as though their statements were fully in accordance with the truth;—with loud imploring cry we would convey to your holy ears, in the contents of the present appeal, an account of our first origin, and of the condition in which our affairs at this moment stand; (if indeed to 'stand' be now a proper expression to apply to them;) and also of the cruel injuries to us and our forefathers, inflicted, threatened, and to the present hour continued, by successive kings of England, and their wicked ministers, and Anglican ba-

The occasion for putting forth such a document as the present.

rons of Irish birth. That so you may have it in your power to examine into the particulars of the case at issue, and thus to discern for yourself which party it is that has been compelled by real grievances to raise a clamour. And then shall it be for your judgment, after careful and satisfactory inquiry into the matter, to determine, according to the character of the evidence brought before you, what punishment or correction should visit the offences of the delinquent party.

The ancient
independence of the
Irish realm
asserted :

"Be it known to you then most holy Father, that since the time when our ancient progenitors, viz., the three sons of Milesius, *alias* Micelius, the Spaniard, came by divine providence, with their fleet of thirty ships, from Cantabria, a city of Spain, (situated on the bank of the river Hiberus, from which we derive our name,) into Ireland, at that time entirely destitute of inhabitants, 3500 years and upwards have passed away,* during which period, 136 kings, of their descendants, without any admixture of foreign blood, have been successively possessed of the monarchy of all Ireland; to the time of king Leoghaire, [Larry] from whom I, the aforesaid Donald, have derived in a direct line my origin according to the flesh : in whose days also our chief apostle and patron St. Patrick, commissioned by your predecessor Pope Celestine, according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, became in A.D. 435 a missionary to our forefathers, and was most successful in his efforts to instruct them in the truths of the Catholic faith. And subsequently to the time when that faith was preached and received among us, a series of monarchs to the number of sixty-one, who in temporals acknowledged no superior, inherited successively the same throne, to the year of our

* Keating says, quoting Cormac Mac Cullenan. &c., that the Milesians came into Ireland 1800 years before Christ, i.e. 2615 years before this memorial was written.

Lord 1170; all of them of the same stock, without any intermixture of foreign blood, princes who lived in humble obedience to the Church of Rome, excellently well-instructed in the faith of Christ, and noted for their abundant works of charity. And these are the men, and not the English, nor any other persons belonging to a different nation, that have richly endowed the Church of Ireland with landed and other property of large extent, and many additional privileges; although of these lands and privileges she has by the English in modern times, been damnably despoiled. And after that the kings aforesaid had for so long a time, by their own efforts, energetically defended against the rulers and kings of various climes, the inheritance granted them by God, ever preserving inviolate their native liberty,* at length your predecessor Pope Adrian, an Englishman, (although not so completely in his origin as in his feelings and connections,) in the year of our Lord 1170, upon the representation false and full of iniquity, which was made to him by Henry, king of England, (the monarch under whom, and perhaps at whose instigation, St. Thomas of Canterbury in that same year suffered death as you are aware, in defence of justice and of the Church,) made over the dominion of this realm of ours, in a certain set form of words, to that prince, whom, for the crime here mentioned, he ought rather to have deprived of his own kingdom;—presenting him *de facto* with what he had no right to bestow; while the question *de jure* [touching the justice or fairness of the proceeding] was utterly disregarded; Anglican prejudices, lamentable to say! blinding the vision of that eminent pontiff.

as well as the piety of such of its kings as lived since the commencement of the Christian era.

The complainants trace their subjugation and misery to Pope Adrian's unrighteous obsequiousness to a wicked king.

‘ And thus despoiling us of our royal honour, without any offence of ours, he has handed us over to be lace-

Effects of the papal grant of

* What of Turgisus and his Norwegians? The petitioners appear to have entirely overlooked their attacks on the liberties of Ireland.

Ireland to
Henry II.

Their cruel
oppression
by the Eng-
lish, result-
ing from its
issue.

rated by teeth more cruel than those of any wild beasts. And those of us who, after having been flayed alive, had escaped half alive, the fatal fangs of those crafty foxes and ravenous wolves, have been violently reduced to the deep abyss of miserable bondage. For ever since that time when the English, upon occasion of the grant afore-said, and under the mask of a sort of outward sanctity and religion, made their unprincipled aggression upon the territories of our realm, they have been endeavouring with all their might, and with every art which perfidy could employ, completely to exterminate and utterly to eradicate our people from the country. And by their acts of low, false cunning, they have so far prevailed against us, that after having violently expelled us, without regard to the authority of any superior, from our spacious habitations and patrimonial inheritance, they have compelled us to repair, in the hope of saving our lives, to mountainous, woody, and swampy, and barren spots, and to the caves of the rocks also, and in these like beasts to take up our dwelling for a length of time. Nay even in such places they are incessantly molesting us, and exerting themselves to the utmost of their power to expel us from them, with audacious falseness asserting, in the depth of the frenzy which blinds them, that we have no right to any free dwelling-place in Ireland, but that this whole country belongs of right entire and entirely to themselves alone. Whence it is that on account of these and many other like atrocities there have arisen between us and them enmities irreconcilable and wars without end. From which have followed mutual slaughters, continual depredations, constant rapine, and instances of perfidy and fraud of detestable character, and too frequently repeated. But alas, our miserable fate! for want of a fit ruling authority, the correction and redress of these evils, which is so justly due to us, we look for in vain.

"The clergy and people of Ireland have therefore now for these many years been placed in a position of the most serious and awful danger, not only in regard to the transitory interests of the body, but also as concerns the salvation of their souls, exposed as they are from the unfortunate circumstances which we describe, to perils the most fearful and unprecedented, For we hold it as an undoubted truth, that in consequence of the aforesaid false suggestion, and the grant thereupon founded, more than 50,000 persons of the two nations, (from the time when the grant was made to the present date) have perished by the sword, independently of those who have been worn out by famine, or destroyed in dungeons. These few observations relative to the general origin of our progenitors, and the miserable position in which the Roman pontiff has placed us, may suffice for the present occasion.

The extent of the bloodshed caused by the Bull of Adrian described.

"Know further most holy father, that Henry king of England, to whom the grant was made, allowing him to invade Ireland in the manner aforesaid; and likewise the four kings who succeeded the said Henry, have plainly transgressed the limits of the conditions on which the grant was made to them in the papal bull, according to the distinct articles contained in it, as is clearly evident from a reference to the substance of the bull itself.

The terms of the Bull violated by the English princes;

"For the said Henry promised, as it is specified in the said bull, that he would extend the boundaries of the Irish Church, and preserve her rights inviolable and secure; that he would bring the people into a state of obedience to laws, and improve them by the introducing of good morality;—that he would implant new virtues in the land, and eradicate the nurseries of crimes;—and pay to blessed Peter the Apostle, a pension of one penny annually, for every house. This promise however concerning Ireland, as well he himself as his successors

as shewn by a reference to its contents.

The bounds of the Church not extended but narrowed in Ireland: its bishops little respected by the English, &c. &c.

aforesaid, and their wicked and crafty English ministers have in every instance violated, entirely departing from the terms of the grant made to them, and studiously and intentionally exhibiting in their actions a line of conduct directly contrary to all those conditions which they had promised to fulfil. For the territories of the Church are so curtailed, narrowed, and mutilated by them, that some cathedral churches have been plundered of a moiety, and more than that, of their lands and property, while ecclesiastical privileges of every kind are for the most part entirely abolished by these individuals here spoken of. And our bishops and prelates are indiscriminately summoned, arrested, seized upon, and imprisoned by the ministers of the king of England in Ireland: and though suffering as they do such constant and serious injuries, they are yet so strongly influenced by a slavish timidity, that they never venture to bring before your holiness any representations concerning them. In consequence of such scandalous silence on their part, we also are disposed to refrain from any further observations on this topic.

The Irish people depraved, not improved, by Anglo-Norman intercourse.

“Then as regards the Irish people, whom in their agreement they had promised to instruct in good morals, and bring into subjection to laws, they are giving them such instructions that their naturally religious and dove-like innocence of character has, from intercourse with such neighbours, and from witnessing their profligate examples, been wonderfully changed into the cunning of the serpent. They have also deprived them of the written laws, according to which they had been governed for the most part in preceding times, and of every other law, excepting that with which they could not be forced to part; introducing meanwhile, with a view to the extermination of our people, infamous laws of the most abandoned and unprincipled character, some of which by way of example are here inserted; and those which we

subjoin are inviolably observed in the court of the king of England in Ireland, viz :—

“ That permission is given to every person who is not Irish, to summon at the law, any Irish person, in any sort of action whatsoever. But every Irishman, whether he be clerk or layman, the prelates alone excepted, is *ipso facto* excluded from commencing any action whatsoever.

The oppressions of the settlers illustrated in their legal proceedings.

“ Further, as it very constantly happens, whenever any Englishman by perfidy and craft kills an Irishman, however noble or however innocent, be he clerk or layman, be he regular or secular, nay even if an Irish prelate were to be slain, there is no penalty nor correction enforced in the said court against the person who may be guilty of such wicked murder ; but rather, the more eminent the person killed, and the higher the rank which he holds among his own people, so much the more is the murderer honoured and rewarded by the English ; and not merely by the people at large, but also by the religious and bishops of the English race ; and above all by those on whom devolves officially the duty of inflicting upon such malefactors a just award and suitable correction for their evil deeds.

No punishment inflicted on men of English blood for murdering Irishmen :

a system approved of by the bishops and clergy of the English race.

“ Furthermore, every Irishwoman, whether of noble rank or otherwise, who marries any Englishman, is deprived, on her partner's death, merely because she is an Irishwoman, of the third part of the landed property and other effects which belonged to her deceased husband.

Other instances of Anglo-Norman oppression set forth.

“ Again these English, wherever they can compass the destruction of an Irishman by violent means, will not by any means allow such an Irishman to dispose of his own property by a last will or testamentary arrangement of any kind. But on the contrary they make their own of all his goods, depriving the Church of her just rights, and by their violence reducing on their own au-

No mere
Irish to be
allowed into
any reli-
gious houses
under An-
glican influ-
ence.

thority to a state of bondage, the blood which flowed in freedom from the days of old.

"Moreover, by the common counsel of that king of England, and certain Anglican bishops, (the principal of whom was a person of small discretion, and of no knowledge, the Archbishop of Armagh,) an iniquitous statute has been lately enacted in the city of S. Keynice in Ireland, in the following unnatural terms: 'It is ordained, that all the religious who dwell in the land of peace among the English, are prohibited from receiving into their order or form of religion, any excepting such as are of the nation of the English. And if any shall do otherwise, our lord the king shall deal with them as with persons guilty of contempt for his commands; and the founders and patrons of such institutions shall proceed against them as disobedient and contumacious in resisting the present ordinance, promulgated by authority of the council of the whole land of Ireland under the government of the English.'

"And even before this statute had been enacted, as well as since that time, the Preaching Friars and the Minors, the Monks and Canons, and other Anglicans, were in the habit of observing the rule with sufficient strictness, being very great respecters of persons. And yet the monasteries for monks and canons from which in modern times the Irish are thus repulsed, were founded for the most part by themselves.

The abomi-
nable per-
fidy of the
Anglo-Nor-
man barons,
&c. in Ire-
land ex-
posed;

"Again, in a country where they had bound themselves to introduce virtues, and exterminate the nurseries of vices, there, by engrafting vices introduced by themselves, they have effected a radical extirpation of already existing virtues. For the English who inhabit our country, who style themselves of the middle nation, are so widely different in their principles of morality from the English of England, and from all other nations, that they may with the utmost propriety be denominated a nation, not of any

middling, but the most extreme degree of perfidy. For they have kept up ever since the days of old, this wicked and unprincipled usage, which is not even yet falling into disuse among them, but on the contrary gaining every day new strength and becoming more inveterate, viz., that when they invite to an entertainment some of the nobles of our nation, at the very time of repast, or during the hours devoted to rest, they will shed without mercy the blood of the unsuspecting guests whom they have invited, terminating in this way their abominable feasts. And after such odious conduct they have also cut off the heads of their victims, and sold them for money to their personal enemies; as did the baron Peter Bermingham, (surnamed, only too justly, the traitor,) to his own kinsman Maurice de Santa Cruce and his brother Calvagh, individuals of very high rank and very much respected among us, after having invited them to a banquet on the festival of the most holy Trinity. On that very day when the repast was over, immediately on their rising from table, he fell on them with twenty-four persons of his gang, and inhumanly butchered them; and afterwards sold their heads to their enemies for a considerable sum of money. And when an indictment for the crime was brought against him before the king of England, (the father, that is, of him that is now king,) he inflicted no penalty whatsoever on this atrocious traitor.*

"In like manner Lord Thomas de Clare, brother to the Earl of Gloucester, having invited to his house that illustrious individual, Brian Roe, prince of Thomond, his own kinsman, and having also, in token of more intimate alliance and friendship, shared with him in par-

and illustrated by particular examples.

Atrocities of P. Bermingham, A. D. 1306.

Similar villainies perpetrated by Lord Thomas de Clare, A.D. 1277; (Vid 4 M.)

* See the truth of this charge, of traitorous perfidy, &c. against the Normans, corroborated by a similar one from the Welsh Annals of Caradoc, A.D. 1108, Art. XXXIII., pp. 1080, 1081, sup.

taking of the communion from the same consecrated host, divided into two parts; after all this unprincipled hypocrisy, at the instigation of that wicked people aforesaid, he caused him to be arrested and hurried away from the table and entertainment, to be torn limb from limb between the tails of horses, and then having cut off the head, he gave orders to have the mutilated corpse hung to a gallows by the feet.

and other
brutal as-
sassins.

“Again, Geoffrey de Penthoiris, of the same nation, was guilty of similar treatment towards Maurice king of Leinster, and Arthur his father, persons of exalted rank and high influence. After having first made them an entertainment, he afterwards in the course of the same night murdered them in his own house as they lay asleep in their beds. And in like manner John Fitz Thomas, earl of Adar, having been guilty of the murder of an Irishman of noble rank, a near connection of his own, three days after the bloody act, caused the head to be cut off, with the mean object of selling it; not indeed perpetrating the act himself directly, but employing others as his agents for this business. And in the same way did the same earl John deal towards John son of that most worthy individual Calvagh aforesaid, a fine promising youth whom he had received from the baptismal font, and who had ever since been constantly reared up with himself, but whom at length, after the detestable death of his relative above noticed, he first immured in a murky dungeon, and then a few days after, caused him therein to be assassinated, staining with guiltless blood his guilty soul.

(See Holinshed's *Chr.*)

The opinion
that it was
no sin to
kill an Irish-
man, main-
tained by
the monks,

“These few instances, notorious to the public, of the numberless outrages of that people, may suffice by way of example for the present occasion. And although conduct of the kind must appear to all Christians abominable and worthy of detestation, nevertheless by those of that nation above-mentioned, (as we are compelled to

feel in the too afflicting experience of every day,) it is regarded as honourable and praiseworthy; since the perpetrators of these crimes never undergo the punishment which they deserve to suffer; but on the contrary, the prize of commendation, to which they have no claim, is too absurdly lavished upon them. For it is not merely their lay and secular persons, but even some of the religious among them too, who are asserting the heretical doctrine that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than a single dog or any other brute animal.* And in confirmation of this heretical assertion, some of their monks audaciously affirm, that if it were to happen to them, as it often does happen, that they should kill an Irishman, they would not for this refrain from the celebration of mass even for a single day. And accordingly what they preach in words is unhesitatingly and shamelessly put in practice in their deeds, by the monks of the Cistercian order of Granard in the diocese of Armagh, and also by the monks of the same order belonging to Inch in the diocese of

&c. of the
Anglo-Nor-
man race;

for instance,
by the Cister-
tians of
Gramont;

* Several cases illustrating the bearing of the Anglo-Norman law on this subject, may be found in Sir John Davis's *Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued*, &c. (Q. Eliz. p. 70 seqq. Dub. 1761,) one of which may suffice by way of example here. At a gaol delivery in Limerick before the Lord Justice Wogan, in the 4th year of Ed. 2, (as it appears by the Archives of Dublin Castle,) one William Fitz Roger having been charged with feloniously killing Roger de Cauteton, pleaded in his defence "that the said Roger was an Irishman, and not a person of free blood. He saith further, that the aforesaid Roger was of the name of O'Driscoil, and not of the name of Cautetons, &c. And the Jury declare upon their oath, that the aforesaid Roger was an Irishman, and of the surname of O'Driscoil, and was taken for an Irishman all his days. In pursuance whereof the aforesaid William is acquitted of the felony aforesaid. But inasmuch as the aforesaid Roger O'Driscoil was an Irishman of our lord the king, the aforesaid William is to be remanded to gaol, until he shall find securities for the payment of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.) to our lord the king, in compensation for the Irishman aforesaid; "— just as if it had been a dog, horse, or cow belonging to his Majesty which had been put to death. (pp. 78, 79, ib.)

and also by
a brother of
the bishop
of Connor.

Down. For making their appearance publicly in arms, they invade and slaughter Irish people, and yet celebrate their masses notwithstanding. And in like manner friar Simon of the order of the Minors, full brother to the bishop of Connor, supports, and is one of the chief preachers of that heresy. Who in the year last past, while in the court of that noble lord, Lord Edward de Bruce, earl of Carrick, unable from the overflowings of a heart full of malice, to contain himself in silence, did, in the presence of the said lord, as he himself testifies, break out impudently into preaching words of this kind, viz., 'That it is no sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself were to be the doer of the act, he would not for this be the one whit less ready to perform the celebration of mass.'

The fraudulent
usurpation of the
lands of the
Irish people
by the Anglo-Nor-
mans, com-
plained of.

"And from this mischievous heresy, slipping on into another error, they all indiscriminately, as well secular as regular, pertinaciously affirm that it would be allowable for them, by violence and arms to take from us, of our lands and property of every kind, whatever portion they can lay hold on, not considering this any thing to trouble their consciences, even in the hour of death. And all the land which they occupy in Ireland, they occupy by usurpation of this kind. And of whatever condition or station the person might be, who would set his face against this error, or preach to them the contrary, he would be thereupon denounced as an enemy to the king of England, and to the realm, and as one that had incurred sentence of death, and as condemned to banishment by authority of the king's council. For it is those people who by their deceitful and crafty scheming have alienated us from the monarchs of England, hindering us, to the very great detriment of the king and realm, from holding our lands,—those lands which are our own by every rightful title,—as voluntary tenants immediately under those princes; between whom and us they

are sowing everlasting discords, under the powerful influence of their covetous desires to get possession of our lands.

“This indeed seems to be a peculiarly characteristic habit of theirs; and one that gives rise to many an act of perfidy and fraud;—that they never cease from sowing such discords in their unprincipled way, not only between such as are distant in blood from one another, but also between brothers and near kinsmen. And seeing that in their circumstances and language, as well as in their actions, they are aliens from us and from other people, to a far greater extent than can possibly be described by us in any writing or statement which we can make, all hope of our maintaining peace with them is therefore entirely out of the question. For such a spirit of pride are they possessed of, and such an excessive passion for tyrannizing over us; and such a proper and natural determination have we formed, to shake off the intolerable yoke of their bondage, and to recover our inheritance, which in defiance of all justice they have so wickedly seized upon; that as there never has been heretofore, so neither will it ever be possible in future, that any sincere concord can be established or maintained between us and them in this life. For we have towards each other a kind of natural hatred arising out of the unmerciful and long-continued slaughters that have been going on, of one another’s fathers, brothers, nephews, and other friends and near kinsmen; so that we never shall be able, as long as we and our children live, to entertain any kind of inclination for friendship with one another.

The extent of the rancorous enmity which prevailed between the two races.

“Again, that the court of Rome has not received the penny a year for each house in Ireland, according to the promise that had been made, is a circumstance which cannot be unknown to you, manifest as it is to all the world. In this way then, and after no other fashion whatsoever, have the kings of England and their sub-

Peter.pence not paid for Ireland, as had been promised.

These barbarities in vain complained of to the English King and Council.

The complainants forward a copy of Adrian's Bull, along with the present appeal, to P. John 22.

The determination of the Irish to assert their rights in defiance of

jects observed the articles of the aforesaid bull relative to the Church and people of Ireland.

"And therefore about two years ago, a letter describing these outrages and abominations of the people aforesaid, in a clear and simple way, with a view to obtaining a remedy, was addressed by several of the nobility of our nation to the Council of that king, and also to the king himself, through Lord John de Hothome, who is now, as we have been informed, bishop of Ely;—and we also made a courteous proposal to the same party, that for his greater profit and our own peace, we should hold our land, that land which is by right our own exclusively, immediately from himself, without any opposition, according to the conditions and articles assigned and contained in the Bull of Adrian, a copy of which in full we transmit herewith to you; or that he should, with consent of both parties, himself divide our land, say that land which is our own property, according to some reasonable plan, between us and them, for the sake of avoiding wholesale bloodshed. — But never since have we obtained from himself or his Council, any answer whatsoever to this application. Let no man then be surprised if we are endeavouring to save our lives, and making what effort we can to defend the privileges of our independence, against these cruel tyrants and usurpers of our rights; especially as the said king, who was at that time styling himself the lord of Ireland, as well as the aforesaid kings his predecessors, have totally failed, in our own case, and in the cases of most of our people, to secure to us the titles or possession of our several properties.

"If then upon these grounds we are driven to fight with the king himself, and our enemies aforesaid, now resident in Ireland, we are herein doing nothing unlawful, but are on the contrary engaged in a highly meritorious undertaking. Nor can we for such proceedings

lie open to a charge of disloyalty or perjury ; inasmuch as neither we nor our fathers ever did homage, or swore fealty in any other way to him or his fathers. And therefore without any remorse of conscience whatsoever, we will fight with them, as long as life shall last, in defence of our rights, never to cease from fighting with them and annoying them, until they for default of power, give over their unjust worrying of us ; and the All-righteous Judge avenge Himself by some plain visitation of condign retribution for their abominable sins, which, it is our belief and firm persuasion, will ere long come to pass.

“ Furthermore, the statements which are here inserted, and the recital of outrages which we have given, we are prepared and ready to verify by the testimony of twelve bishops at least, and also of several other prelates, duly proven according to time and place, and in such a legal order of proceeding as we have a right to demand—and not like the English, who were never willing to abide by any just ordinance or upright principle, so long as their power and prosperity lasted : advantages which if they were now possessed of, they would never have thought of running for shelter under the wings of the court of Rome ;—nay rather would they oppress every nation around, with their usual tyranny and violence, contemptuously disregarding alike the divine authority, and that of the court of Rome, which we regard as the same ordinance. So that if the said court were fully informed concerning their behaviour, in such a way as to shew how little they deserve the patronage of their wickedness by that court, they would not feel much satisfaction at the proceeding.

“ Wherefore, in consequence of the injuries above noticed, and others without number, which it is beyond the power of the human mind easily to comprehend, and also on account of the kings of England, and the ever-

such oppressors.

The Irish ready to prove the assertions in this memorial by competent evidence.

Their plan for vindicating the cause of their coun-

try set
forth.

Their invitation to E. Bruce and his qualifications for the office of prince over them described.

lasting perfidy of their wicked ministers, and of those English borderers of the middle race, who, after having bound themselves, according to the ordinance of the court of Rome, to govern our people in a just and moderate way, have made it the object of their unprincipled study to exterminate them from the country; and also for the purpose of shaking off the cruel and insupportable yoke of their bondage, and recovering our natural liberty, that we have lost for a time by means of these parties here mentioned, we are compelled to keep up mortal war with them; preferring (since necessity obliges us to make the choice) to expose ourselves like men to the dangers of war in defence of our just rights, rather than to submit like women to their atrocious outrages any longer. And in order to effect our object in this behalf with more promptness and in a more dignified manner, we are inviting to our aid and assistance Edward de Bruce the illustrious earl of Carrick, brother german of the most illustrious Lord Robert, by the grace of God, king of the Scots, and a descendant of some of the most noble of our own ancestors. And seeing that it is freely allowable for every person to renounce his right, and make it over to another, the whole right in the said kingdom which is known to pertain to us as its true inheritors, we have by our letters patent given and granted to the said individual; and for the establishment of judgment, justice, and equity in the land, (which for default of a proper supreme authority, have utterly failed therein,) we have constituted him our king and lord, and appointed him ruler by unanimous consent, in our realm aforesaid; seeing that he is in our judgment and in that of people generally, a person of piety and prudence, of a chaste and modest disposition, and of great sobriety, and in fact, altogether orderly and unassuming in his demeanour. He is also possessed of abundant power (praised be the Most High!) to deliver us with a high hand from

the yoke of bondage, the divine assistance and our own righteousness favouring his cause; and he is moreover very well disposed to render unto every man his just dues; but above all, he is entirely ready to make to the Irish Church a full restitution of those possessions and privileges of which she had been damnably despoiled. It is indeed his intention to endow her with greater immunities than she had ever at any former period been wont to enjoy.

"May it please thee therefore, most holy Father, out of a regard for justice and the public peace, mercifully to sanction our proceedings relative to our said lord the king; prohibiting the king of England and our adversaries aforesaid from further molestation of us. Or, at least, be graciously pleased to enforce for us from them the due requirements of justice.

The pope invited to give his approbation to their proceedings.

"Be it known to thee also, Reverend Father, that independently of the kings of Scotia Minor, who have all derived the source of their blood from our Scotia Major, retaining more or less our language and manners, one hundred and eighty-seven kings of our own blood have occupied the throne of the entire island of Ireland. &c."

A postscript relative to the series of kings of Ireland.

No. XL.

REPLY OF POPE JOHN XXII. TO THE FOREGOING APPEAL.

(Vid. p. 641, *note, sup.*)

We had thought of omitting Pope John's reply to the foregoing remonstrance (*vid. p. 641 note sup.*); but as the reader may be desirous of hav-

Reason for the insertion of this document

into the
present Ap-
pendix.

ing both documents together, and the exclusion of this latter might by some be regarded as proceeding from some unfair motive, it seems better, even at the expense of a little space, to give insertion here to the epistle in question. Mr. Brennan indeed (the Franciscan writer of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, a work exhibiting considerable industry and learning,) has given this letter of the pope in full, while he entirely omits the far more interesting document which elicited such a reply : nor does he honour that long and very touching remonstrance, by making so much as a single extract or quotation from its contents ; his whole notice of it being included in some dozen lines or so of his *Ecclesiastical History*. To avoid any thing like a mode so anomalous of dealing with historical documents, we subjoin accordingly for the satisfaction of the reader, a translation of this papal rescript, which runs as follows :—

The letter
of P. John
XXII. to
Edward II.
A.D. 1318.

Motives of
the writer
in penning
this epistle.

“ John, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical benediction.

“ A feeling of paternal regard for the advancement of your Highness's welfare is the motive that impels us, well-beloved son, to use our earnest exhortations in inviting your attention to matters which involve the favour of the righteous Judge of the earth towards your kingdom,—matters closely connected with the peace of your

territories and their inhabitants—and which are also of importance to your own reputation and honour. On these grounds a sense of duty will suggest to you the propriety of receiving the recommendations offered by us in regard to those matters in a spirit of kindly deference, and also of manifesting a proper docility and readiness in adopting them.

“Know then, Son, that we have received a certain letter directed in the first instance from the Irish nobles and people to our sons Anselm, presbyter of the title SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and Luke, deacon of S. Mary’s in the Broadway, Cardinal Nuncios of the apostolic see, and by them enclosed to us in a letter of their own. In which we see it stated among other things, that whereas our predecessor Pope Adrian of happy memory, did, in a certain mode and form of grant, which was distinctly specified in his apostolic letters drawn up in that behalf, convey to your progenitor, Henry king of England, of illustrious memory, the supreme dominion over Ireland, that king himself, and the kings of England his successors, even to the present time, failing to observe the mode and form so set forth, have in direct violation of them, for a long period past, kept down that people in a state of intolerable bondage, accompanied with unheard of hardships and grievances. Nor was there found during all this time, any person to redress the grievances they endured, or be moved with a pitiful compassion for their distress; although recourse was had to you in reference to these matters, and the loud cry of the oppressed fell at times, at least, upon your own ear. In consequence whereof, unable to support such a state of things any longer, they have been compelled to withdraw themselves from your jurisdiction, and to invite another to come and be ruler over them.

“Now, son most dearly beloved, statements like these if supported by the real facts of the case, must be so

The pope informs king Edward of the purport of the complaint made by Donald O’Neill and his followers.

His majesty is very affectionately

exhorted to
redress the
grievances
of his Irish
subjects :

much the more painful to our feelings, considering the intense desires which we cherish, that prosperity may attend you in all your undertakings. Duty requires that you should give your earnest attention, and apply yourself with readiness and zeal, to the introducing of such measures as may be acceptable in the sight of your Creator ; and that you should scrupulously refrain from all such courses as may justly provoke against you the wrath of that God, the Lord to whom vengeance belongeth ;—who never disregards the groaning of those that are unjustly afflicted ; and who is described as having rejected his own peculiar people, and made a transfer of their kingdom to others, on account of the unrighteous acts of which they had been guilty. How much more in accordance with our anxious desires would it be, especially in troublous times like these, to see you giving a ready attention to such measures, as may incline the hearts of his faithful people to cherish towards you feelings of obedience and good-will, and avoiding utterly all such courses as may tend to alienate their attachment towards your person.

so as to consult for his own honour, and remove all just grounds of complaint.

“ Seeing therefore, Son, that it is of no small moment for you to escape the inconveniences which might be connected with a change so serious, and that it is expedient in the highest degree that these first beginnings of disturbance should not be overlooked, lest afterwards when they have increased to a perilous extent, it may be too late to set about providing a medicine for the disorder ; we therefore by these presents earnestly beg of your Royal Excellency, conscious at the same time of the soundness of the advice which we urge upon you, that you will take these matters into your calm, deliberate, consideration, and confer upon them with your discreet council, and in this way proceed to command and enforce a just and speedy correction and reform of the grievances aforesaid, in such modes and

methods as may be proper, thus providing a check for the dangerous commencements that have been made in this case; and at once gaining the approbation of Him by whom you reign, and removing, by your complete fulfilment of the requirements of duty, all grounds of just complaint against you on the part of any individual. That so those Irish people, following more wholesome counsels, may render you the obedience due to their lord, or if (what heaven forbid) they shall be disposed to persist in foolish rebellion, they may convert their cause into a matter of open injustice, while you stand excused before God and man.

“In order that your mind may be satisfactorily enlightened on the aforesaid grievances and complaints, whereon the aforesaid Irish are founding their appeal, we send your majesty enclosed in these presents, the above-mentioned letter directed to the cardinals above-mentioned, with a copy of the letter of grant, which the aforesaid Adrian our predecessor addressed to the said Henry, king of England, relative to the land of Ireland.”

The pope transmits to him the Irish remonstrance, together with a copy of the bull of Pope Adrian IV.

No. XX.

STATE OF THE IRISH EPISCOPACY AT THE PERIOD OF THE ENACTMENT OF THE STATUTE OF KILKENNY.

In giving a brief account of the state of the Irish episcopacy in the age of the parliament which enacted the famous Statute of Kilkenny, we shall commence with a notice of those eight prelates whose names occur in the statute itself.

Notice of the Irish prelates named in the Statute of Kilkenny.

A slight inspection of the succinct records which follow will serve to show plainly how great an influence the Church of Rome possessed, at that time, over the arrangement of episcopal appointments in all the sees of Ireland; although such influence was then a growth of only two centuries, which had first begun to show itself about the year 1150.

1. THOMAS MYNOT.

[Succ. 1363. Ob. 1375.] Succeeded by the pope's provision to the See of DUBLIN. Was prebendary of Malahidert, and Treasurer of Ireland. He died in London. .. (Harris's W. 333)

2. THOMAS O'CARROL.

[Succ. 1365. Ob. 1373.] This prelate having been Archbishop of Tuam, was by a PAPAL bull appointed to succeed to CASHEL in 1365 [or 1364.] He died at Cashel. (H. 479)

3. JOHN O'GRADA.

[Succ. 1365. Ob. 1371.] After the translation of the last prelate above-named, this John, archdeacon of Cashel, "was forthwith *elected* Archbishop of TUAM," with license of the king. He was consecrated at AVIGNON,* and died at Limerick. (H. 611)

4. THOMAS LE REVE.

[Succ. 1358 or before it. Ob. 1393.] He was canon of Lismore, and "appointed Bishop of LISMORE at AVIGNON. A.D. 1358," or earlier. While he governed that see, *Lismore and Waterford* were consolidated by a real union, (in 1363,) by pope Urban V.; the king, Edward III. confirming the proceeding. He was for a time Chancellor. (H. 534)

5. THOMAS O'CORMACAIN.

[Succ. 1355. Ob. 1387.] Was archdeacon of KILLALOE, and

* Which indicates that his appointment, like all the rest here, had the papal sanction.

advanced to that see by the POPE's provision, and consecrated in 1355. He died in 1387, and was buried in his own church. .. (H. 593)

6. "WILLIAM BISHOP OF OSSORIE."

This prelate is not given by Ware, nor Harris. They have on the contrary *John of Tatenale*, [succ. 1360, ob. 1370,] appointed by the pope: called also John of Oxford. The preceding prelate, Richard Ledred, died in 1360, upon whose death Milo Sweetman, Treasurer of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, was elected in his room. Milo was however promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh in 1360 or 1361. [John of Tatenale therefore seems to have been certainly in possession of the see in 1367.] *Qu.* Could the true reading be "William bishop of Emle?" (H. 411)

7. JOHN YOUNG.

[Succ. 1363. Ob. 1384.] Was Treasurer of LEIGHLIN, and advanced to that see by the POPE's authority. He also filled the office of deputy to A. Balcot, Bp. of Meath, Treasurer of Ireland. (H. 456)

8. JOHN DE SWAFAM.

[Succ. 1363. Resign. 1376,] A Carmelite friar of the Abbey of Lyn (Norfolk), was consecrated Bishop of CLOYNE, being advanced to that see by a PAPAL provision. He was a great opponent of the Wickliffites, for which he was promoted to the see of Bangor by Pope Gregory XI. in 1376. (H. 577)

These prelates, it appears, were active in keeping "the Irish enemies" in order. *E. g.* *Thomas le Reve*, by commission dated at Dublin the 24th of October, 1358, "was empowered to treat with ye king's English or Irish enemies, concerning any offences by them committed, and to do whatever he should think proper to promote and preserve the public peace."—Rot. pat. tur. Berm. 32 Edw. III. f. N 46. (MS. in Dr. Todd's Harris's Ware, Bps. 533.)

Item, Thomas O'Cormacain, by Patent, dated Clonmel, 10th July, 1358, was commissioned to treat with all the disturbers of the public peace, English and Irish, except

Political services of some of these prelates on behalf of England.

such as were indicted or outlawed, and to reform them to good order and government.—Rot. tur. Berm. 32 Edw. III. 2 pt. (Same MS. H. 593.)

But *John Young* was still more active. For “by petition he set forth, that in the Marches of the Co. Carlow, near the Irish enemies and Rebels, he had made his constant abode for 13 years past, that at great cost and labour, he had built without any assistance, divers fortresses within the said Marches, to resist the said Enemies, and to secure and defend his majesty’s Liege subjects; that he had retained divers people to resist the said Enemies, whom he had indicted and excommunicated for their rebellion by due process, on account of which they had destroyed his tenants Lands and Tenements in those parts, and therefore prayed for some recompense and relief, and the king gave him 20 marks by liberate dated at Tristledermot, 26 Mar. 1358.”—Rot. Claus. Ao 1o Ric. 2 fac. Rot. 5. (Same MS. H. p. 458.) [N.B. — 1358 seems plainly wrong: perhaps it should be 1378.]

Notice of the prelates occupying the remaining sees in the same age; the way of their appointment, &c.

The following were the prelates who occupied the other sees of Ireland at or about the same period, as far as they have been collected from existing records:—

1. ARMAGH. Milo Sweetman, 1361—1380; was promoted by the pope, (then at Avignon.) Had been Treasurer of Kilkenny Cathedral. (H. 83)
 2. MEATH. Nicholas Allen died in 1365, and was succeeded by Stephen de Valle, by provision of the pope in 1369. He was made by the king collector of the customs in the port of Galway for three years (in 1375); also on the death of John of Hasting, earl of Pembroke, and minority of his heir, was made to have custody of all his estate, and to be sergeant of his castles. (H. 147)
- N.B. The papal bp. of Meath, A.D. 1375, a collector of customs for the king of England.

3. CLONMACNOISE. Henry, a Dominican friar, died about 1367. Michael Cury, bishop of Clonmacnoise in 1390, succeeded by *papal provision*. (H. 172)

4. CLOGHER. Matthew Mac Cathasaid, lawfully elected cir 1361. Bernard Mac Camcail, bishop of Clogher in 1386, and O'Corcraio, bishop in 1370, succeeded to the see by *pope's provisions*. (H. 184)

5. DOWN. Friar William, 1365—1368; succeeded by *pope's provision*. (H. 301)

6. CONNOR. William Mercier, 1358—1375, was archdeacon of Kildare. His predecessor, James O'Kernsey, 1324—1351, was promoted by *pope John XXII*. (H. 322)

7. KILMORE. Richard O'Reley, Ob. 1370; immoral, it seems. His successor, Thomas of Rushok, was promoted by *Pope Urban VI.*, being translated by him to this see in 1389. (H. 329)

8. AEDAGH. Owen O'Ferral, canonically elected. His fourth successor, Gilbert Mac Brady, 1396, came in by *papal provision*. (H. 353)

9. DROMORE. "Christopher" presided in 1369. His second successor John O'Lannub, was appointed by *Pope Urban VI.*, circ. 1382. (H. 360)

10. RAPHOE. Richard Mac Crossain, *succ.* 1366. His successor John, was appointed by *Pope Boniface IX.*, 1397. (H. 373)

11. DERRY. Simon, *succ.* 1367 and 1368. A friar. His second successor on record was appointed by *Pope Boniface IX.*, 1401. (H. 389)

12. KILDARE. Robert of Aketon; *nullus* by the pope at Down in 1265; *succed.* to Kildare, 1366—1368; Henry, bishop of Kildare in 1401, William, 1432, and Geoffry Hereford, 1449 were appointed by the *popes Boniface IX.* and Eugene IV. (H. 387)

13. FERNS. Thomas Den, 1363—1400; archdeacon of Ferns. His predecessor William Charnells, was appointed by the pope, and obtained possession, A.D. 1350. "When the castle of Ferns was taken by the Rebels, he in person headed a party made up of his servants and dependants, and putting the rebels to flight, recovered the Castle;" of which he was made Constable, with the Fee of £20 a year, as appears by a liberate for $\frac{1}{4}$ year's salary from 10th of December to 10th of June, 1355, dated at Dublin, 5th of June.—Rot. pat. tur. Berm. N 83. f. He was for a time Treasurer of Ireland. Ob. 1362. (H. 443 and MS. nn.)

Military services of the papal bishop Den, against the Irish rebels, A.D. 1350.

His two next successors were by *pope's provisions* appointed. They were Patrick Barret, 1400—1415; Robert Whitby, 1416—1456. (H. 444)

14. EMLY. "William," archdeacon of Emly, 1363—1393; succeeded by *papal provision*. In 1377 he was fined 100 marks for not

appearing upon summons at a parliament held at Castledermot in that year (H. 497)

15. LIMERICK. Stephen de Valle, 1360—1369; succeeded by a pope's provision. *Vid. sup.* Meath. (H. 508)

16. ARDFERT. John de Valle, 1348—1372; was promoted by provision of pope Clement V., as also his two successors, viz., CORNA. O'Tigernach, 1372—1379; William Bull, 1379—1382. (H. 532)

17. CORK. Gerald de Barry, 1359—1393. [By his petition to the Lord J. and Council, in 1381, he set forth, that he was above 80 years of age, and often visited by sickness, so that he was not able to attend parliaments in person, and on that account desired to be excused personal attendance in all future parliaments, which ye king granted by a patent at Cork, 20th Jan. for the fine of two marks, and sending a sufficient proxy.—Rot. 5, Ric. 2.] (H. 561)

His successor, Friar Roger Ellesmere, was appointed by Pope Boniface IX., and filled the see for ten years 1396—1406.

Services of the Bp. of Ross in "re-forming" the Irish of his locality.

18. ROSS. "Dennis," 1336—1377. [Having acquired for his life one plowland in Connys, and ye Escheator having seized the same, pretending that he had acquired it in fee, and that he was an Irishman, he was restored thereto upon petition, by ye king, to advance ye see and to shew his esteem for ye bishop, who was assiduous in reforming the Irish of those parts. April 18, 1358.—Rot. claus. 33 Ed. III. D. R. 2. MS. notes *ut sup.*, and (H. 587)

His four next successors, to 1426 or later, were appointed by papal provision. (H. ib.)

19. KILFENORA. The succession here at this period is very obscure. Rd. 1359. "Patrick," *sed.* 1394. Denis O'Cahan. *Resig.* 1491. Maurice O'Brien then succeeded by papal provision. (H. 624)

20. ELPHIN. "Gregory" *succ.* 1356. *Resign.* 1372. Advanced to the see of Elphin by Pope Innocent VI. (H. 631)

21. CLONFERT. Thomas O'Kelly appears to have been bishop from 1347 to 1377. John O'Lean, bishop of this diocese, A.D. 1322—1336, succeeded by papal appointment. (H. 640)

22. KILMACDUAGH. "Nicholas," (1360—1371.) John, bishop of this see in 1418, was appointed by pope Martin III.

23. KILLALA. "Robert," *succ.* 1350. Was fined 100 marks for not appearing upon summons at a parliament of Castledermot, A.D. 1377. His successor was advanced by Pope Urban VI. 1381. (H. 651)

24. ACHONRY. Nicholas O'Hediam, 1348—1373. Succeeded by provision of Pope Gregory XI. (H. 659)

These records, while exhibiting the wide pre-

valence of papal influence in the Irish sees, at the period to which they refer, afford at the same time sufficiently plain illustrations of the fact, that the prelates appointed by such influence included in their number some, at least, of those on whose fidelity and energy in keeping down "the native Irish" the English government could place the fullest reliance.

No. XXI.

ROMAN TAXATIONS OF IRELAND.*

One of the first objects pursued in regard to Ireland by the powers of England and Rome, when the island came under their authority, was the raising of taxes out of the country for their own purposes; and of these taxes none was more worthy of note than that which was known by the name of the Saladin or papal Tenth. This impost originated in the sensation caused throughout Europe by the intelligence of the

Nature of
the Saladin
Tenth, le-
vied in
France and
England,
A.D. 1188,

* For the matter of this article in general, with more on the same subject, see the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, of the Rev. W. Reeves, in which are given also abundant references to original authorities for all the particulars here touched upon.

capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187; in consequence of which the kings of England and France were led, in the following year, to impose upon their respective subjects a tax of one-tenth of their moveables and annual income for the relief of the Holy Land. The assessment however very shortly underwent a limitation, and it became in the following century a charge to which the clergy alone were liable.

Origin of
the Norwich
Taxation,
A.D. 1254.

The first memorable instance of the exaction of the tax in England under this modified character was in 1254, when Henry III., agreeably to a grant which Pope Innocent IV. had made him in the preceding year, instituted a general valuation of all ecclesiastical benefices in England, in order to levy with greater precision the Tenth of the clerical incomes during the three years to which his grant extended. The rural dean, assisted by three principal rectors or vicars in his deanery, was required to make a return of all the ecclesiastical revenues within the same, certified, as to its accuracy, upon oath. The whole valuation thus compiled received from the grantor the name of "Pope Innocent's Valor," or, from the agent, Walter de Suthfield, bishop of Norwich, "the Norwich Taxation;" and it continued to form until the close of the century, a standard for the regulating of all clerical subsidies and assessments.

In Ireland also a collection was made in virtue of the same grant, but whether a regular scrutiny was instituted, or how it was conducted, is not recorded. A little before, in 1251, there had also been a levy in this country for the service of the Holy Land; and again in 1270, we find it on record, that the Tenths in Ireland which had been granted to Henry III. for three years, were by him assigned and made over to his Queen Eleanor.

Collection of the papal Tenths in Ireland in A.D. 1251 and A.D. 1270.

At the Second Council of Lyons, held in A.D. 1274, by Pope Gregory X., this pontiff having obtained (by a resolution entered into at the close of the second session) a general grant of the ecclesiastical Tenths for a term of six years,* a levy was in consequence begun in England in the same year, according to the scale of Pope Innocent's Valor above-mentioned. The amount was all collected for England in 1282, and was on the point of being remitted to Rome, when Edward I. peremptorily forbade the removal of any portion of it, and soon after took forcible possession of the whole. Subsequently exerting himself by politic negotiations with several successive pontiffs to secure the treasure for himself, and especially by promising to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, he was at

A twelve years' grant of the Tenth in England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, by P. Nicholas IV. to K. Edward I.;

* Labbe, *Concil.* tom. xi. par. i. col. 398. Par. 1671.

length so successful as to obtain from Pope Nicholas IV. in 1288, a grant not only of the six years' Tenth of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, which were in hand, but also of those which were to accrue in the same countries for the six succeeding years.

in connection with which orders are issued for a new ecclesiastical valuation of Ireland.

A. D. 1291.

With a view to increase the value of the grant, a new Taxation was by the king's precept undertaken, and completed for Canterbury in 1291, and for York in 1292. The returns of this taxation became a national record, and served as the standard by which all the clerical taxes paid to the king or pope were regulated, until the ecclesiastical survey made in the 26th of Henry VIII. And as the Tenth of Ireland were included in the grant here mentioned, it seemed expedient that a new valuation should be made for that country also. Accordingly Pope Nicholas IV. addressed a letter, in March, 1291, to Thomas St. Leger, bishop of Meath, and Thomas de Chaddesworth, dean of Dublin, the collectors for Ireland, instructing them how to proceed. This letter will be found in the next article, and will afford the reader a curious view of the method employed in conducting such operations. In the February following the king issued a writ to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects in Ireland, informing them of the agency of the bishops of Meath and Kildare, and requiring

them to facilitate the undertaking by all the means in their power.*

The taxation of the churches connected with the cathedral of St. Patrick and the Priory of the Holy Trinity, in the diocese of Dublin, was completed in 1294, and is still on record: but concerning the rest of Ireland, there is little known further, than that in July, 1300, Pope Boniface VIII. addressed a bull to the collectors appointed by Nicholas IV. instructing them to hand within two months to the Florentine merchants of the company of Spini, or their order, any balance which remained unpaid. This sum, whatever it amounted to, was detained by the king's justiciaries, and though the pope wrote to complain of the violence, he appears to have been easily appeased; for, in February following, he granted the king a full acquittance of all the Tenth^s which he had obtained from Ireland, amounting to nearly three years' proceeds, and in the next month a full release of all the sums which he had received "for the relief of the Holy Land;" notwithstanding his having failed

What became of the Tenth^s collected on this occasion.

* It was stated incorrectly at p. 679 of this work, (see the note there,) that the returns of the valuation made on this occasion are still extant. The returns intended however are those of the taxation of 1306, of which presently. See p. 1151, *inf.* The error was adopted on the authority of the learned illustrator of the *Eccllesiastical Antiquities of Down*, &c., who has himself subsequently supplied the correction. See his *Introd.*, p. xiii. a.

Condition
of Ireland
when this
tax was
imposed.

to fulfil his promise, in consideration of the expenses, labours, and difficulties with which he had been oppressed by the severity of the times.

The Church of Ireland appears to have been in great poverty when Pope Nicholas imposed this tax upon it. A short time before, when the king applied to the archbishops to obtain for him a levy from their suffragans and clergy, for the ransom of his nephew Charles, &c., the archbishops of Tuam and Cashel and the bishop of Kildare severally made answer, that they and their clergy were so reduced by war, rebellion, and depredation, as to be in the extreme of poverty. And it is probable that the meeting of the Irish prelates, which took place at Trim in September, 1291, and the resolutions there entered into, arose out of their inability or unwillingness to comply with this and similar demands. (*Vid. Art. XXXIX. sup.*)

Another as-
sessment of
'papal
Tenths' in
Ireland,
A.D. 1302.

In 1302 a fresh assessment of the Tenths for three years was imposed on the Irish clergy by the pope, to help him in his war with the king of Arragon: and that he might receive a contribution from these countries the more readily, he granted to the sovereign of England half the annual proceeds. The king in his writs for its collection calls it "*Decima Papalis*," (a better name than *Decimæ Saladinides*, as it was no longer of much avail for its original object of

succouring the Holy Land;) and appoints Richard de Berefford, treasurer of Ireland, sub-collector under the bishop of London and Bartholomew de Ferentino, the pope's agents in the undertaking.

In 1306, the king, needing money once more, procured from Pope Clement V. a grant, for two years, of the ecclesiastical Tenth within his dominions; which grant was in the same month extended to four, and finally to seven years; with proviso that Queen Margaret should receive £2000 annually for five years; that the Prince of Wales should receive half the amount for a certain term; and that a fourth of the proceeds of the last four years should be reserved for the exigencies and burdens of the Church of Rome.

Richard de Berefford, treasurer of Ireland, and William de Ryvere, canon of Sarum, were nominated sub-collectors for Ireland; and the king directed Thomas Cantock the Chancellor to administer to them the oath to execute their commission "diligently and faithfully, without having respect unto favour, hatred, fear, love, or any other pre-occupation whatsoever:" the rural deans to assist in the undertaking, and each rural deanry to render an account of its own income.

The details of this taxation have been pre-
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What agents
and what
method of
proceeding
were to be
employed in
it.

The records of this latter taxation still preserved;

served, and form the most ancient collection of ecclesiastical statistics connected with Ireland now remaining. The rolls on which they are entered have been kept in the office of His Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster since the year 1323, when they were removed thither by authority of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland. They were deposited in a leathern pouch marked "Hibernia," and occupy "fourteen long rolls."

of which a synopsis is annexed, its plan having been first described.

The following synopsis of the contents of these Taxation Rolls, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the learned author who has so luminously illustrated a portion of them, will not prove unacceptable to the well-informed reader. Its plan, as described by the friend who has been so good as to communicate it, is this.—It contains the names of all the dioceses, under their provinces, and in the order in which they occur; save that Meath appears in a roll of its own, and is not referred in the original to any province. Under each diocese are set down its rural deanries, and the number of churches; including in the term, rectories, or vicarages, or chapels. Subjoined is the annual value of the sum of the churches in each deanry, as appended to it in the original, and at the foot of the diocese the total annual value of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the diocese, including

the bishop's income. In some cases the word "denomination" is used instead of church, where the items included perquisites, lands, or other endowments.

PROVINCIA ARDMACANA.

Summary of
the Tax-
ation of the
dioceses of
Armagh;

DIOC. ARDMAC.				£	s.	d.
<i>Inter Hibernicos</i>	..	..	24 churches,	10	13	7
Eccles. de Ardmach	..	..	16 ch.			
<i>(Inter Anglicos)</i>						
Dec. de Dundalk	..	..	10 ch.			
Dec. de Droghda	..	..	9 ch.			
Dec. de Atrio Dei	..	..	9 ch.)*			

DIOC. DUNELM.						
Dec. de Clondermod	..	..	18 ch.	28	0	0
Dec. de Blaethwyco	..	..	23 ch.	75	6	8
Dec. de Ardo	..	..	27 ch.	74	6	8
Dec. de Lechayll	..	..	44 ch.	108	8	0
Dec. de Dalboyn	..	..	15 ch.	8	2	8

Down;

Sum total, £424 3s. 3d.

DIOC. CONFERENS.						
Dec. de Mourne	..	..	33 ch.	73	12	4
Dec. de Maulnye	..	..	21 ch.	94	4	4
Dec. de Twescard	..	..	21 ch.	217	3	4
Dec. de Turtrye	..	..	13 ch.	12	3	4
(Relig. Houses)	..	..	6	172	12	6
(Bp. and Archdn.)	..	..	..	57	16	0

Connor;

Sum total, £697 11s. 4d.

DIOC. CLOCHERESS.						
(Bishop, Dean, Canon, and 2 churches.)						
Dec. de Logherny	..	..	12 ch.	3	9	10

Clogher;

* This division of the diocese is omitted in the Taxation of 1306, but is found in the Regist. Sweteman.

				£	s.	d.
	Dec. de Clonooys	..	..	6	ch.	14 6 8
	Dec. de Domnachoyagen	..	..	7	ch.	6 16 8
	Sum total, £60 2s. 4d.					
Kilmore;	DYOCES. TIBBRUNENS.					
	Bp., 3 abbeyes, and 2 rectors.					
	Sum total, £23.					
Raphoe;	DYOC. RATHBOTENS.					
	Bp., Dean, 1 abbey, and 31 churches.					
	Sum total, £58 15s. 8d.					
Dromore;	DYOC. DRUMORENS.					
	Bp., 1 abbey, and 14 churches.					
	Sum total, £42 6s. 8d.					
Ardagh;	DYOC. ARDACHADEN.					
	Bp., Dean, Archd., possessions of Loxeudy,					
	Grenard, abbeyes; and vic. of Grenard.					
	Sum total, £38 16s. 8d.					
Derry;	DYOC. DERRENS.					
	(Dec. de Inisceoghain) Bp., Dean, and					
	7 churches, 25 3 4					
	Dec. de Bynnagh 25 ch. 46 15 0					
	Dec. de Magurtha 12 ch. 4 9 4					
	Sum total, £76 7s. 8d.					
Clonmac-	DYOC. CLUANENS.					
noise;	Bp., Dean, Archd., Prebend, 2 abbeyes, and 5 churches.					
	Sum total, £25 2s. 6d.					
Meath;	DYOC. MIDENS.*					
	Dec. de Deueleke 31 denoms. 340 5 9					
	Dec. de Rathouthe 25 do. 235 0 0					
	Dec. de Scryne 36 do. 198 15 8					

* The name of *Elnamirand*, given to this see in some old lists, is derived by Keating from the Irish *Ail na n-iréann*, (pronounced *Elnamiran*.) i. e. "the stone of the portions," such having been the title given to a stone forming "the boundary between the four provinces, from which were taken the four portions of which Meath is composed." See the original in the *Primer of the Irish Language*, of the College of S. Columba, p. 87.

				£	s.	d.
Dec. de Trym	..	..	.. 35 denoms.	265	6	0½
Dec. de Clonard	..	..	.. 16 do.	75	16	10½
Dec. de Ardnorchur	..	..	.. 1 church,	17	6	8
Dec. de Loxuedi	..	..	.. 27 denoms.	120	6	8
Dec. de Moling[ar]	..	..	.. 32 do.	147	18	4
Dec. de Fauoria	..	..	.. 30 do.	56	4	6
Dec. de Kenles	..	..	.. 21 do.	138	8	11½
Dec. de Sciane	..	..	.. 29 do.	261	19	9½
Bp.'s income	..	..	400 marks, i.s.	266	13	4
Sum total, £1857				8s.	6½d.	

PROVINCIA THUAMENS.

DYOC. THUAMENS.				Tuam ;		
Abp., Chapter, 8 Relig. Houses, and	..	..	26 churches,	240	14	1
Dec. de Athneri	..	..	.. 4 ch.	31	6	8
Dec. de Struthir	..	..	.. 19 ch.	31	9	4
Dec. Mayonensis	..	..	.. 29 ch.	56	16	4
Sum total, £360				6s.	8d.	
DYOC. ANACHDUNENS.				Annadown		
Dec. de Maydrig, Bp., 2 abbeyes, and	..	..	12 ch.	72	19	8
Sum total, £72				19s.	8d.	
DYOC. ALADENS., Bp., and				Killala ;		
..	..	..	28 ch.			
Sum total, £96.						
DYOC. AKADENS., Bp., 2 abbeyes, chap., and 35 ch.				Achonry ;		
Sum total, £25						
DYOC. DUACENS., Bp., Dean, Archd., chap., and 24 ch.				Kilmacduagh ;		
Sum total, £62						
DYOC. CLONFERTENS.				Clonfert ;		
Bp., Dean, 11 members of Chapter, and 2 abbeyes				84	6	8
Dec. Clonfertens	..	..	.. 14 ch.	15	17	1
Dec. Loghre	..	..	.. 17 ch.	65	2	2
Dec. Othur	..	..	.. 11 ch.	18	1	8
Dec. Dondery	..	..	.. 12 ch.	22	2	8
Sum total, £205						

			£	s.	d.
Elphin ;	DYOC. ELPHINENS.	Bp. and 89 churches.			
		Sum total, £69 7s. 4d.			

Sum total of TUAM Province, £912 6s. 0½d.

PROVINCIA DUBLIN.

Dublin ;	DYOC. DUBLIN.				
	Abp. and	28 denoms.	1053	6	8
	Dec. de Dublin	.. .. 10 do.	316	17	0½
	Dec. de Swerdes	.. .. 28 do.	314	13	8
	Dec. de Tanehey	.. .. 27 do.	318	3	9
	Dec. de Salta	.. .. 11 do.	71	4	0
	Dec. de Bree	.. .. 10 do.	125	8	6
	Dec. de Arco	.. .. 10 do.	12	0	0
	Dec. de Wykylou	.. .. 7 do.	39	13	4
	Dec. de Ballymor	.. .. 19 do.	191	11	0
	Dec. de Omerthy	.. .. 38 do.	290	2	1
		Sum total, £2362 14s. 4½d.			

Kildare ;	DYOC. KYLDAR.				
	Bp. and 31 denoms.	.. .. 170	4	10	
	Dec. de Naas	.. .. 15 churches	92	10	4
	Dec. de Clonkoury	.. .. 9 ch.	39	4	4
	Dec. de Carbery	.. .. 3 ch.	23	0	0
	Dec. de Tolemoey	.. .. 8 ch.	19	0	0
	Dec. de Offaly	.. .. 6 ch.	34	10	0
	Dec. de Kyldare	.. .. 2 ch.	35	10	1½
		Sum total, £415 9s. 7½d.			

Leighlin ;	DYOC. NOVA LEIGH.				
	Dec. de Obargy	.. .. 13 ch.	69	18	3
	Dec. de Oboy	.. .. 4 ch.	32	8	4
	Dec. de Odrony	.. .. 12 ch.	75	19	4
	Dec. de Leys	.. .. 15 ch.	71	13	4
	Dec. de Focherd	.. .. 13 ch.	36	17	4
	Dec. de Ofelmeth	.. .. 17 ch.	98	5	0
		Sum total, £536 14s. 1½d.			

[DROC. OSSOR.]

[Ossory;]

This diocese is omitted in the Taxation of 1306. The deficiency however appears to be supplied by the Red Book of Ossory, from which the following summary for this diocese is extracted. Although undated, it seems to be of the date 1306.

				£	s.	d.
Dec. de Kenlys	..	..	.. 28 churches	220	10	0
Dec. de Obargoin	..	..	.. 17 ch.	60	3	8
Dec. de Overk	..	..	.. 18 ch.			
Dec. de Kilkennia	..	..	.. 4 ch.	92	6	2½
Dec. de Claragh	..	..	.. 18 ch.	110	6	0
Dec. de Sillr.	..	..	.. 11 ch.	62	6	8
Dec. de Aghthoris	..	..	.. 16 ch.	68	10	0
Dec. de Odogh	..	..	.. 22 ch.	112	3	8
Dec. de Aghabo	..	..	.. 17 ch.	13	0	0
Sum total, £1062 4s. 9½d.						

There is also another taxation of this diocese in the same Red Book, where likewise it is stated to have been made by Bishop Ledred after the Invasion of the Scotch, and therefore between 1315 and 1360. This taxation is here subjoined. The sums placed opposite to the name of each deanry are the tenths of the whole amount. Even multiplying these by ten it will be seen that the Scotch Invasion had done great detriment to Church property.

Dec. de Kenlys	..	..	.. 27 ch. decima	10	3	4
— Obargoin	..	..	.. 8 ch. decima	1	10	0
— Overk	..	..	.. 12 ch. decima	2	11	2
— Kilkenny	..	..	.. 3 ch. decima	1	7	0
— Claragh	..	..	.. 15 ch. decima	4	9	8
— Sillr.	..	..	.. 11 ch. decima	2	19	4
— Aghthr.	..	..	.. 13 ch. decima	2	14	8
— Odogh	..	..	.. 15 ch. decima	5	9	8
— Aghabo	..	..	.. 6 ch. decima	2	16	0
Summa Decimarum, £58 13s. 4½d.]						

DROC. FERREN.

Omitted in the Taxation of 1306.

FERNs;

PROVINCIA CASSALEN.

Cashel;	DYOC. CASSELLLEN.			£	s.	d.
	Dec. Cassellensis	..	..	26 churches	129	0 8
	Dec. de Wethnthir	..	..	6 ch.	5	0 0
	Cathedral benefices	..	..	28 denoms.	164	10 11
	Dec. de Ely	..	..	31 ch.	125	9 2½
	Dec. de Fythard	..	..	16 ch.	50	11 10
	Dec. de Muscri	..	..	16 ch.	78	7 9½
	Dec. de Sciepardach	..	..	20 ch.	112	5 4
Sum total, £660 5s. 9d.						
Emly;	DYOC. IMELACENS.					
	Bp., 11 Prebs., and 1 denom.	..	..	..	151	13 4
	Dec. Wetheny	..	..	9 ch.	51	6 8
	Dec. Grene	..	..	13 ch.	33	3 4
	Dec. Tipery	..	..	16 ch.	54	0 0
	Dec. Natherlage	..	..	5 ch.	23	3 4
Sum total, £313 6s. 8d.						
Cloyne;	DYOC. CLONENS.					
	Bp., Ab., and Prior, (6 denoms.)	..	..	..	174	9 0
	Chapter, 18 denoms.	..	..	..	70	6 0
	Dec. Omakill	..	..	26 ch.	103	3 4
	Dec. Olethan	..	..	18 ch.	65	0 0
	Dec. Fermoy	..	..	32 ch.	94	10 0
	Dec. Muscridonegan	..	..	30 ch.	62	12 0
	Dec. Muscrllyn	..	..	17 ch.	12	13 0
Sum total, £582 12s. 4d.						
Limerick;	DYOC. LYMER.					
	Bp. and	..	..	22 ch.	148	10 10½
	Dec. Killoc	..	..	20 ch.	117	6 8
	Dec. Garthe	..	..	8 ch.	22	13 4
	Dec. Rathgel	..	..	20 ch.	48	3 4
	Dec. Ardagh	..	..	10 ch.	9	0 0
	Dec. Adare..	..	..	11 ch.	46	0 0
Sum total, £391 14s. 2½d.						
Ross;	DYOC. ROSSAN.					
	Bp., Abbot, and	..	..	7 ch.	26	13 4
	Dec. Obahumpna	..	..	8 ch.	8	18 4

			£	s.	d.
Dec Corkyghterah..	..	10 churches.	3	13	4
Dec. Berry ..	..	5 ch.	4	0	0
Sum total, £45 5s.					

DYOC. ARTHVERTENS.

Ardfert ;

Bishop ..	..	..	49	13	4
Dean and Chapter (23 denoms.)	..	..	23	4	5
Dec. de Offeria ..	..	17 ch.	23	4	0
Dec. de Hacmy ..	..	14 ch.	13	10	0
Dec. de Othorna and Offlannan	..	10 ch.	6	15	0
Dec. de — pray ..	..	13 ch.	14	3	4
Dec. de — rrys ..	..	14 ch.	14	10	9
Dec. de Hacudeo, 5 abbeys and	..	29 ch.	33	19	4
Sum total, £178 16s. 6d.					

DYOC. FYNABORENS.

Kilfenora

Bp. and ..	..	23 churches.			
Sum total, £60 3s. 4d.					

DYOC. LAGHENS.

Killaloe ;

— Bp., Dean, Archdn., 7 abbeys and 43 ch.	..	..	128	1	8
— ..	..	..	159	10	0
— ..	..	16 ch.	30	6	8
Sum total, £317 18s. 4d.					

DYOC. WATERFORDENS.

Waterford ;

Bishop, Dean, Chap.,—40 denoms.	..	..	
Sum total, £125 17s. 8d.					

DYOC. LYSMOREN.

Lismore ;

Bishop and ..	..	26 ch.	298	17	9
— ..	..	27 ch.	175	9	1
— ..	..	9 ch.	33	18	0
— ..	..	27 ch.	203	3	4
Sum total, £711 8s. 2d.					

DYOC. CORCAGENS.

and Cork.

Bishop, Chapter, and 8 denoms.	..	..	97	6	8
Dec. de Ocurblethan ..	..	15 ch.	34	10	0
Dec. de Kery ..	..	11 ch.	42	1	8
Dec. de Kenalethe ultra	..	17 ch.	67	5	0
Dec. de Kenalethe citra	..	13 ch.	38	10	0
Dec. de Corkolwyn ..	..	5 ch.	4	0	0
Sum total, £283 13s. 4d.					

Sum of Province of CASHEL, £2699 16s. 4½d.

Specimen of
the Taxa-
tion of 1306
in its full
and una-
bridged
form.

It will of course be borne in mind by the reader, that the preceding is but a synopsis, or abridged summary, of the original taxation from which it has been compiled. It may be interesting, however, to give a specimen in the form of a continuous extract from the taxation itself, by which the nature of that document may be better understood. The following is, in its unabridged form, the portion of it which belongs to the rural deanry of Moylinny, in the diocese of Connor.

"DEANRY OF MAULYNE,

The rector of Antrum	5 marks	..	Tenth, 6s. 8d.
The vicarage of the same	12 marks	..	16s.
The rector of St. Brigid's, [Kil- bride]	10 marks	..	Tenth, 1 mark.
The vicarage of the same	10 marks	..	Tenth, 1 mark.
The church of Duncurri [Done- gore]	15 marks	..	Tenth, 20s.
The church of Drummedergal	12 marks	..	Tenth, 16s.
The church of Maudone	2 marks	..	2s. 8d.
The church of Hugh-de-Logan's town	2 marks	..	6s. 8d.*
The church of Corngran	5 marks	..	6s. 8d.
The church of Oldtown	24s. 4d.	..	2s. 8½d.
The rector of Coule [Carnomy]	10 marks	..	Tenth, 1 mark.
The vicarage of the same	4 marks	..	5s. 4d.
The church of Douach [Doagh]	2½ marks	..	3s. 4d.
The rector of Walter-de-Logan's town [Ballywalter]	The Hospitallers are rectors.†		

* The error which obviously exists either in the *Valuation* or *Tenth* of this Church, is shewn by the *sum* to be in the latter, which has 6s. instead of 3s.

† The Hospitallers having been exempted from this taxation, the churches held by members of their body have no charge placed opposite to their names in the above cited record.

The vicarage of the same	..	40s.	..	Tenth, 4s.
The church of Lynne [Ballylinny]	..	9 marks	..	12s.
The church of Iwes	..	13 marks	..	17s. 4d.
The church of Rasael [Rashee]	..	6 marks	..	8s.
The churches of Austin's town and of Adam Corry [Ballyoor]	..	7 marks	..	9s. 4d.
The church of Monketone	..	10 marks	..	1 mark.
The church of Rathmore	..	2 marks	..	2s. 8d.
Sum of the Taxation, £94 4s. 4d.; Tenth thereof, £9 8s. 5½d."				

In this enumeration it will be seen that there are comprised 17 rectories and 4 vicarages, making up together the sum of 21 benefices, with an income of £94 4s. 4d. in this deanry, as already exhibited under the diocese of Connor in the above summary.

No. XLI.

**BULL OF POPE NICHOLAS IV. CONCERNING THE GRANT OF THE IRISH
"TENTHS" TO KING EDWARD I., A.D. 1291.**

(Referred to in the preceding No., p. 1148 sup.)

The original Latin of this document may be seen in Rymer, *Fæd.* vol. ii., p. 519, (*vid.* p. 679 *not. sup.*) 19 Ed. I. Ex orig. in Thesaur. Cur. Recept. Scacc.

"Nicholas, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our venerable brother the bishop of Meath, and our beloved son the dean of the church of Dublin, our greeting and apostolical benediction. Names of
the agents in
this tax-
ation.

Applause of
the king for
his zeal in
the Holy
Wars.

"It is not without sensations of lively joy, not without emotions of glowing exultation in the Lord, that we contemplate in our private meditations, and publish for the benefit of others, how that King, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, hath benignly touched the heart of our most dearly beloved son in Christ, Edward, the illustrious king of England; and hath kindled in his mind such a fervent zeal for employing his personal exertions for the relief of the Holy Land, subjected as it is to unnumbered sufferings, that both before his accession to the high honours of the royal dignity, which were his by hereditary right, he did in his own person, (not without large pecuniary expenditure and labours of serious magnitude,) supply relief to the said land, and this at a most critical season, when the country was exposed to very serious perils;—and after that event, maintaining still the same resolve to render service to his Redeemer in this truly pious undertaking, (as though forgetful of the imminent risk which he had formerly incurred in the very same land at the hands of an assassin, and exhibiting a laudable magnanimity in his utter disregard of such perils,) he has again resumed anew the work of prosecuting the interests of the said land in his own person, and with all the resources of his royal might;—acting thus in the spirit of a Catholic prince, a prince of sterling energy; and holding himself in readiness to cross the sea, with God for his guide, on the feast of the nativity of B. John the Baptist, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and ninety-three, which period we have thought proper, after advising with our brethren, to assign as the time for a general passage, as well for him, as for all others who have enlisted, or may yet enlist themselves, under the banner of the cross.

He is granted
the Ecclesiastical
Tenth for
twelve
years.

"Now, albeit we have deemed it good to make over to the said king, for the prosecution of an undertaking so burdensome, so arduous, a grant of the Tenth of all

incomes and rents ecclesiastical which has been collected in the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and in the lands of Wales and Ireland. in obedience to the decree of the Council of Lyons, for the relief of the land aforesaid, with certain other sums besides, and are giving direction in other our letters for the assigning of the said tithe to his use at the periods named for this purpose: yet seeing that there can be no doubt but that the said undertaking requires the aid of a far larger subsidy, We have, on advising with those same our brethren, made to the aforesaid monarch a [fresh] grant of the Tenth of all ecclesiastical rents, revenues, and profits, in the same realms and lands, according to their true valuation, for six years to be reckoned from the nativity of B. John the Baptist, next coming.

"But from any contribution on account of this Tenth, we have ordained, and it is our pleasure, to grant, an exemption in favour of the Templars and Hospitaliers, (who have shewn such a readiness to expose their persons and property in places beyond sea, and who have suffered serious losses in divers parts of the world, through the troubles of the times, of which it has befallen us to see so many instances in our own days;) and also of all places, persons, and estates, which in declarations heretofore issued by the apostolic see, and herewith transmitted to you by us, are known to enjoy a right of exemption.

Exemption
of the Tem-
plars &c.
from this
Taxation.

"And in order that this our grant aforesaid may be the more promptly carried into effect, in other our letters addressed to our venerable brethren the archbishops . . . Armagh, . . . Dublin, . . . Cashel, and . . . Tuam, and their suffragans, and our beloved children, . . . elect, . . . abbots, . . . priors, . . . deans, . . . archdeacons, . . . provosts, . . . archpresbyters, and other prelates of churches; and to the chapters, convents, colleges, of the Cistercian, Cluniac, Premonstrant,

The Irish
clergy at
large are ex-
horted to be
spirited and
liberal on
the present
occasion.

Benedictine, Augustine, Carthusian, Grandmontane, and other orders, as well as to the rest of the ecclesiastical persons, regular and secular, exempt and non-exempt, located in the provinces of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, we admonish, urge, and exhort them by the bowels of the mercy of our God, recommending it as a means of obtaining the remission of their sins, and also giving them command in our apostolic writs, as they have any regard for piety towards God, or any reverence for the apostolic see and ourselves, to be careful to make their settlement with the said king, for the Tenth of all their ecclesiastical rents, revenues, and profits, (according to the form of our grant above mentioned, for the avenging of these fearful reproaches on Christ and Christianity, and the averting of the awful dangers to which the land aforesaid is exposed,) in such a spirit of liberality, that the voluntary promptitude exhibited in the liberal settlement which they make, obviating all necessity for any coercive measures, may prove meritorious in the sight of God, and commend itself to us also as a suitable occasion for thanksgivings on our part, and for such increased claims on our favour, as shall, under the circumstances, be meet.

The agents
in the mat-
ter to urge
them fur-
ther to the
same effect;

“Wherefore we give charge to your discretion, in these our apostolic writs, that according to the wisdom given you by God, you diligently admonish, and effectively induce, either personally, or by means of others, the aforesaid archbishops and their suffragans, and the others aforesaid, all and singular, not being exempt from contributing to the Tenth aforesaid, that they pay the said Tenth, for the same six years, as it is premised, to the said king of England, in a liberal spirit, and without the interposing of any impediment thereunto.

using coer-
cive means
if necessary.

“And if in obeying your admonitions in this behalf they shall manifest any negligence, or occasion delay in any sort whatsoever, in that case do you, by our autho-

rit, compel them, all and singular, to make their settlement with the said king for the Tenth in question, at such terms as you shall think proper to specify for this purpose; setting aside any appeal which may be suggested by them, or by any individual of their number.

"And forasmuch as in those parts, the same rents, revenues, and profits are estimated in divers modes, and various ways of rating their values are in use, it is our will, and strict injunction, to you, which we urge also as a matter of solemn charge upon your consciences, that setting God before your eyes, and acting with the advice of discreet persons belonging to the different cities and dioceses, in which the taxation will require to be made, you apply your diligent exertions to tax the true value of the rents, revenues, and profits aforesaid, according to what they usually amount to under ordinary circumstances, after such sort, that the churches of the said parts, and their rectors, may be able without serious inconvenience, to support the taxation aforesaid, and that the mode of conducting the business, so far as it may conveniently be possible, shall be such as to preclude all materials of scandal, hinder the opening of any door for peril to the souls of men, and sufficiently provide against the accruing of any loss to his majesty in the transaction. Any privileges, indulgences, or graces whatsoever, which may have been granted by the apostolic see to the aforesaid archbishops and their suffragans, or to the others, or to any individual of them, or to their dignities, or orders, and specially to those of Citeaux, Præmonstre, Clugny, Chartreux, Grandmont, or to their universities, or single persons of them, under any form of words, or mode of expression whatsoever; even should it be contained in them, that mention full and express, or explicit in any degree of minuteness, must be made in future letters of their entire contents seriatim, or word for word, or specifying the proper names of the parties

Care to be taken to have this rent paid with strict honesty,

disregarding any former covenants or promises of the "Apostolic See."

acquiring or obtaining them, or any other indulgence of the same see, of whatsoever tenor, form, or mode of expression it may be, which not being inserted word for word in these presents, or not being expressed in them by name and specifically, might have power to cause impediment or delay in the way of their execution, in any manner, notwithstanding.

A certain
limitation
introduced.

"It is however our will and pleasure that you, brother bishop, should not exercise the power aforesaid over the exempt of your city or diocese: but you, son dean, are at liberty to exercise it freely, whether directly or by the agency of another, over the exempt belonging to the city and diocese of Meath.

Mode of al-
location
of the money
raised.

"Furthermore it is our pleasure, that whatsoever portion of the said Tenth may have been collected before the said king shall have embarked for the purpose of crossing the sea, shall be assigned by you to his agents appointed for this purpose, as soon as he shall have gotten on board with his army to cross the water; and that whatever portion of the said Tenth shall be collected after that period, shall be carefully assigned by you, according as it may be collected, to such agents as he shall appoint for the purpose.

The pope's
bagmen to
have no
share of the
spoils;

"And in order that the labours and anxiety undertaken by you in the discharge of the premises may be attended with a more abundant prize of everlasting retribution, we have considered it expedient not to exempt yourselves from payment of the Tenth in question. Our pleasure on the contrary is, that you should be holden bound to the same. Also for your own expenses you are to make no charge upon this Tenth;* and in the settlement of any other expenses contingent upon the said

* This violation of the rule in Deut. xxv. 4, may remind one of those lines of Horace, *Sat. I. 1, 46 seqq.*, "*ut ri Reticulum panis,*" &c.

Tenth, you are to be careful that the costs which you charge thereupon shall be of moderate amount.

“Furthermore in executing matters of so important and arduous a nature as the premises, and matters involving the need of such great and careful circumspection, in order that the execution of them may be the more safely, judiciously, and effectively carried on, we order you both, if it shall be possible, to give your attention to the admonition, coercion, taxation, and settling of the said terms, as above mentioned, and also to the [proper] assignation of such sums as may be collected, of the said Tenth, whether before the above-named king shall have embarked on the water, or subsequently.

although tied straitly enough to give their personal attention to the work in hand.

“But if either by death, or by some other impediment, not invented, not pretended, either of you shall happen to be interrupted in this business, let the other during the continuance of such impediment, attend to the execution of the premises notwithstanding; and on such impediment ceasing to exist, give your earnest attention both of you together, in accordance with the directions above given, to the effective execution of the premises.

How to arrange in case of the death of either agent, &c.

“Moreover, to provide still more amply for the welfare of souls, we grant by the tenor of these presents, full and free power to you both, and to each of you, to absolve directly, or through the agency of others, according to the Church’s form, after due satisfaction made, all those who for failing to pay the Tenth aforesaid, or for any impediment occasioned by them, in any manner whatever, to such payment, shall have incurred sentence of excommunication, and to dispense with them relative to any irregularity in which they may have become involved, from intermixing, while under such sentences, in assemblies for the celebration of divine offices.

Their authority strengthened by a grant of spiritual powers.

"Given at the Old City, the 15th of the Kalends of April, in the fourth year of our Pontificate."

Comment
on the
above docu-
ment.

Considering that Ireland was visited with a most oppressive tax in 1229 to support the pope against the emperor Frederick, with another in 1240, (of which at p. 679 sup.), that there was a further levy on this country in 1251 "for the service of the Holy Land," a further demand in aid of the wars of the pope with the king of Aragon in 1270, and a grant of the Tenth in Ireland for three years assigned in the latter year by Henry III. to his queen Eleanor,* and that moreover at the very period when the bull above given was issued, the nobles and clergy of Ireland were impoverished by wars, and burdened with debt, it were certainly not very wonderful if such an extraordinary document as this were to have the effect of instigating the Irish ecclesiastics, disgusted at such incessant imposts in favour of the popes and their friends the kings of England, to form such a conspiracy against the influence of the latter, as that of this year 1291, recorded in Art. 39 sup.

* See Mant, i. 13; Reeves, *Ant. of Down, &c. Introd.* p. vi. notes.

No. XLI.

BULL OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. CONFIRMING THE FOUNDATION OF
THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH IN GALWAY.

Some portions of this curious document have been already submitted to the reader's notice at p. 672 of the present work. The larger extracts here subjoined will throw somewhat of additional light on the circumstances connected with it; although indeed with all the information which can be gleaned from existing records in regard to the whole matter, the contents and purport of this bull appear to be involved, after all, in no small obscurity. The passages which follow will be found in De Burgo, Hib. Dom. pp. 440 seqq. notes; where the bull in question is entitled "a Diploma of P. Innocent VIII., for constituting, or rather confirming the constitution of, the District or Wardenship of Galway."

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual memory of the matter herein treated of."

"Now it hath been represented to us in a petition lately set forth on behalf of our beloved children the entire parishioners of the parish church of S. Nicholas of the town of Galway, in the diocese of Enaghdone, that our venerable brother Donogh [O'Murray] Archbishop of Tuam, (who is known to be governor of the church of Enaghdone, united permanently to that of Tuam,) having taken some time since into his attentive consideration,

that the parishioners of the said church of St. Nicholas were modest and civilized men, having their habitation in a walled or fortified town, and that they did not practice the same customs as the wild and mountainous people of those parts were in the habit of using; and that they were so harassed by the outrages of daily occurrence, committed by people of that wild mountain race aforesaid, on the Vicarage of the said church of St. Nicholas, (which used heretofore to be ruled over by vicars,) that they were unable to hear divine service, or to receive the Sacraments of the Church, according to the decency, Rite, and custom of England, which they, the said inhabitants, and their ancestors of old had ever been accustomed to follow; and they were kept in a state of disturbance by these ignorant people, at times plundered of their goods and murdered by them, and compelled to bear with divers other losses and injuries in their persons and properties; and were entertaining well-grounded fears of being exposed to evils more serious still in the time to come, unless means were adopted for providing a speedy remedy;—did, by his ordinary authority, in compliance with the appeal of the said parishioners, erect the church of St. Nicholas aforesaid into a collegiate establishment, and ordain therein a College of one Custos and eight presbyters; and did also for their maintenance apply and appropriate . . . to the capitular table of the said church of St. Nicholas, the fruits, revenues, and profits of the vicarage aforesaid, &c. &c. . . ; and did by the same authority ordain, that the said church of St. Nicholas, erected into a College, as is premised, should for the future be ruled and governed, not by a single vicar, but by the aforesaid eight presbyters or vicars, civilized, virtuous, and learned men, and by one Warden, or Custos, all holding the English rite and order in the celebration of divine service.

"In pursuance whereof, an humble supplication has been presented to us on behalf of the said parishioners, requesting that we would vouchsafe to grant . . . to the erection, donation, &c. . . . aforesaid, the sanction of our confirmation.

"We therefore, lending a favourable ear to the application in question . . . do confirm and ratify by the tenor of these presents, and by our apostolic authority the erection, donation, &c. . . . above mentioned, and the arrangement that the aforesaid church of St. Nicholas thus erected into a collegiate institution, according to the ordinance aforesaid, of the said archbishop, shall be ruled and governed for ever hereafter by the said eight presbyters, civilized, virtuous, and learned men, accustomed to the use of the Anglican Rite and system in the celebration of divine offices . . . &c., &c."

It is further enacted in this bull that the eight presbyters or vicars should be chosen and presented for institution into permanent office to the Warden, by the Mayor and other municipal authorities; and in like manner the Warden was to be chosen by the same patrons, and presented by them to the eight vicars, to be by them inducted into his office, which was to last but for one year. During such a period was he invested with pastoral sway over the eight vicars, as well as the laity of the said parish.

Enagh-dun (now Annadown) is an ecclesiastical foundation of very considerable antiquity, situated on the east brink of Lough Corrib, (the

Origin of
the church
of Enagh-
dun.

ancient Lough Orbsen,) in Galway. The earliest remaining record connected with it informs us, that "Aodha, the son of Eochy Tirmcharna, King of Connaught, bestowed Enachdun on God and Breanuinn,"* i. e. S. Brendan of Clonfert, who died in 577. No mention however occurs of the existence of any episcopal see in the place before the latter part of the 12th century. It was not one of the five bishoprics named for Connaught in the Synod of Rathbreasail; but the see of Cong which occurs in the enumeration adopted in that assembly, and which soon after ceased to exist, (at least under that name,) may have had its episcopal chair transferred to Annadown, which was but a few miles distant. The first authentic mention of a prelate belonging to the see occurs in the accounts remaining of the coronation of Richard I. in the church of Westminster, on Sep. 3, 1189, when there were present "John Cumin, Abp. of Dublin, Albin O'Mulloy, Bp. of Ferns, and Concors, Bp. of Enaghdone."† Eleven years later, we have in *The Four Masters*, at A.D. 1201, the death of

Its elevation
to the con-
dition of an
episcopal
see.

* *Book of Ballymote*, p. 54. See the "*Chorographical Description of West or h-Iar Connaught*, written A.D. 1684, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Esq., author of the *Ogygia*, edited from a MS. in the Library of T. C. D., with notes and illustrations by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A. Dublin, for the Irish Archaeological Society. 1846." pp. 154, 155. See also 2 Cor. viii. 3.

† Lanigan, iv. 318, where the authority cited is Ware, *Annals*, at 1189.

"Conn O'Mellaigh (O'Malley) bishop of Enagh-dun, and a bright ornament of the Church;" and again, at A.D. 1241, the death of "Muir-cheartach O'Flaherty, bishop of Enagh-dun."

The episcopal district connected with the church of Enagh-dun appears to have been originally coextensive with the seigniorship of the O'Flaherties, whose territory before the year 1235 embraced a large tract of country lying on the east of Lough Corrib, and of the town and river of Galway. But when this part of Ireland was planted with castles by the English at the period referred to, the O'Flaherties were driven to extend their settlements toward the west, where their district of Iar-Connaught was "confined to the limits of Moycullin and Ballinahinsy barony's, and of the half baronies of Ross and Aran;"* while the diocese of Annadown came thenceforth to be regarded as an English interest, and the maintaining of a line of bishops there, independent of the see of Tuam, (as far as any others in the province) a favoured object of the English princes.

On the death of bishop O'Flaherty above-mentioned, another named Concors was consecrated for his successor in Enagh-dun. But

Extent, &c.
of the diocese.

Flo. Mac
Flin obtains
the annexation of

* See O'Flaherty's *A-Iar Connaught*, by Hardiman, (ut sup.) pp. 1-6 and 247.

Enaghdun
diocese to
Tuam.

Florence Mac Flin, archbishop of Tuam, [A.D. 1250–1256,] resisting the appointment, entered on possession of the see, and retained it against him, representing to the king, (Henry III., in A.D. 1251,) that the church of Enaghdune was but a parish church belonging to the archbishopric of Tuam, but was made a bishopric by the king's presenting two bishops to it; and that he, the archbishop, had procured a bull from the pope to reduce it to a parish church as before, which bull he begged of the king to confirm. And the king was induced to do so, and complied with his wish in A.D. 1252: notwithstanding which, however, controversies were carried on concerning the bishopric of Enaghdun for 76 years after, and the king's assent was given, during that interval, to many elections to the see.*

J. de Ufford
appointed
bishop of
Enaghdun,
loses again
the possession
of the
see.

Thus on the death of Archbishop Thomas O'Connor, who governed the see of Tuam, and with it Enaghdun, for 20 years, (from A.D. 1259 to A.D. 1279,) part of the canons of Tuam having elected for their archbishop a Franciscan friar named Malachy, his election was confirmed by the king. The pope however nulled it, and by his bull, dated July 12, 1286, translated Stephen of Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, to the archbishopric of Connaught, who was restored

* Harris's *Wars*, pp. 605, 606.

to the temporalities of his new charge on the 15th of September in the same year. Meanwhile the people of Enaghduu, taking advantage of the vacancy in Tuam, had elected for their bishop John de Ufford, a learned and amiable person, who, through the influence of his relative, Sir Robert Ufford, then Lord Justice of Ireland, obtained the royal assent on the 16th of March, 1282, and was thereupon consecrated. Stephen, however, succeeding to the archbishopric of Tuam about four years afterward, commenced an action against the bishop of Enaghduu, who lost the suit, and surviving it not long, left his antagonist in undisputed possession of the see.*

The next archbishop of Tuam, William de Bermingham, having succeeded to his office with the approbation of both King Edward I. and Pope Nicholas IV., received possession of the temporalities on Sep. 29, 1289, and took care, like his predecessors, to annex the church of Enaghduu to his archbishopric. It seems that by his directions also, (to remove the insignia of authority out of the reach of any rival in the latter place,) Philip le Blound, archdeacon of Tuam, took away the mitre, the pastoral staff, and other pontificalia of the bishop of Enagh-

Gilbert, elected bishop in 1306, successfully resists the pretensions of the abp. of Tuam.

* *ib.*, p. 607.

dune, from a convent of friars at Clare, where they had been deposited for safe custody until the creation of a new bishop. However, in the year 1306,* the dean and chapter of Annadown assembled and proceeded to elect for their bishop a Franciscan friar named Gilbert, without applying, as was usual, for the king's licence to elect in the first instance, or for the royal assent afterwards; for which offence Bishop Gilbert was obliged to pay a fine of £300 before he was restored to the temporalities of his see, and the dean and chapter passed security by letters patent that for the time to come they would never again, upon the occurrence of a vacancy, shew such a disrespect for the royal authority.

and in despite of his utmost opposition gains possession of Enaghduin ;

Archbishop Bermingham steadfastly resisted the appointment of Gilbert to Enaghduin, claiming it as a parish church of his diocese; and even passed over into France with a complaint to the pope of the injury done to him. But he lost his labour: for Gilbert meanwhile, on appeal to

* The papal Taxation, commenced in this year, (see Art. XXI. sup.) mentions the diocese of Enaghduin as then recently separated from Tuam, and assigns to it in addition to the cathedral and two monasteries, twelve parish churches, included in the deanry of Maydrig, viz. :—1. Mecherl. (or Meray;) 2. Foranmore, (Oranmore;) 3. Foranbeg, (Oranbeg;) 4. Roscom, (now a townland in Oranmore, with a round tower, about two miles S.E. of Galway;) 5. Galvy, (Galway;) 6. Killeny; 7. Kelfynsynt, (Killurna?) 8. Donnaghpatrick; 9. Killawyr, (Killower;) 10. Rathmyalid, (Rawyn, or Rahoon?) 11. Struthir, in Muntircuda, (Shrule, in Muntir-murroughoe, now the barony of Clare;) 12. Kilkelwyll, (Kilkilvery.)

the primatial court of Armagh, was confirmed in his bishopric, consecrated thereto by the Lord Primate, John Taaf, and restored to the temporalities on the 15th July, 1308.*

The see of Enaghduin continued after this independent of Tuam for about twenty years, under Gilbert and three of his immediate successors, viz., James O'Kerney, who was advanced to the bishopric by provision of the pope, John XXII., and held it to 1324 or 1325 ;—Robert Petit, "then late Bishop of Clonfert ;"—and Thomas O'Maley, who died beyond sea in 1328 or 1330.

which continues independent of Tuam 20 years.

Means had however been provided ere this for subjugating the see of Enaghduin to Tuam once more. Malachy Mac Æda, "of West Connaught extraction," (i. e. one of the sept of the O'Flaherties,) having been elected archbishop of Tuam, (in 1312,) approved of by the king, and confirmed by the pope, was restored to the temporalities of his archbishopric on the 1st of April, 1313, and appears to have commenced his career with a determination to reduce the Anglicans of Annadown to his obedience. The systematic hostility and opposition with which he assailed Bishop Gilbert above mentioned was such as to cause the king, Edward II., to address

Malachy Mac Æda's exertions to displace Gilbert, and reannex Annadown to Tuam,

lead to a complaint against him from the King of England to the pope.

* Harris's Ware, 608.

a letter to the pope, in 1321, complaining grievously of his injuries. It sets forth, among other things, that the bishop, "on receipt of his majesty's letters, had repaired to his diocese, and had now been for many years there, laudably fulfilling the duties of his pastoral office;" but that Malachy's grasping ambition was causing this exemplary prelate much annoyance and injury; for that he, (Malachy,) "by suppressing the true circumstances of the case, and making false representations, had obtained certain apostolic letters addressed to certain judges, who were said to be of his own family or connections, and who did their endeavour to disturb, in many ways, the peace of the bishop aforesaid, and by means of processes, false and erroneous, to alter the condition of his church, and apply its revenues to the uses of the archbishop above mentioned."*

Malachy
adopts a
crafty po-
licy for ob-
taining the
object of his
desire.

These open assaults failing, however, to crush the liberties of Annadown, or to procure the suppression of the see, Malachy appears in his next step to have had recourse to craft and policy for effecting his object; using for his instrument in the business a distinguished individual named Philip of Slane, who was, by the pope's provision, made bishop of Cork, and put

* Rymer, *Fœd. Lond.* 1818, vol. 2, pars 1, p. 457.

in possession of the temporalities of that see by the king's authority, bearing date July 17, 1321.*

Three years after, in 1324, this Philip was despatched by the king, Edward II., on an embassy to the pope, having for its object "the Reformation of the state of the Irish Church;" which commission he executed so much to the satisfaction of his royal master, that on his return he was called into the privy council of Ireland. The pope likewise armed him, together with the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, with a commission to make a careful inquisition into what might be suitable and expedient for promoting tranquillity and peace in that country; for which purpose those archbishops and he, having met in council, with many of the nobility, gentry, and official personages in Ireland, the following resolutions were by them adopted, as being needful for promoting the welfare and quiet of the realm :—

"1st. That the disturbers of the peace and invaders of the king's rights should be pronounced excommunicated by the archbishops and bishops, by virtue of the apostolic authority. Philip of Slane, papal commissioner, holds a council for promoting Church reform in Ireland.

"2ndly. *That the small and poor bishoprics, not exceeding £20, £40, or £60 a year, and which were governed* Statement of the resolutions adopted on this occasion;

* Harris's Ware, pp. 559, 560.

by the mere Irish, (who are known to have been sowers of discord and contention in the country in various ways during the time past,) *should be united to the more eminent archbishoprics and bishoprics.*

"3rdly. That the Irish abbots and priors should be enjoined by the authority aforesaid to admit the English into a lay brotherhood in their monasteries, &c."*

which are
confirmed
by the
pope,

who oddly
applies one
of them to
Annadown
in particu-
lar.

On the breaking up of the council, Bishop Philip was despatched with these resolutions to the king, and by him sent on to the pope, to procure the confirmation of them by his authority; his majesty considering them to be, as he expresses it, "useful for checking the stubborn wickedness of the Irish people." The agent however, (acting most probably under the influence of Archbishop Malachy aforesaid, whose interests and objects were so directly concerned,) exceeded his commission, and without giving to the king, or to the bishop or chapter of Enagh-dun, any intimation of such a proceeding, made application to the pope, in the name of his royal employer, "to have the cathedral churches of Enagh-dun, Achonry, and Kilmacduagh, united to the metropolitan church of Tuam," which union was accordingly, by the pontifical authority, enacted to take place in compliance with such a request. Some years after, in 1330, we find Malachy making use of this papal enact-

* Rymer, ib. p. 554.

ment, as a ground for seizing into his own hands the jurisdiction and revenues of the see of Enaghduin, in defiance of the claims of Thomas, then lawful bishop of the place.*

This conduct gave occasion to a fresh letter of remonstrance and complaint against Malachy's proceedings, from the English monarch (now Edward III.) to the Roman pontiff. It was written, the king observes, "under a feeling of pity and compassion for the desolate condition to which the venerable father, Thomas, by the grace of God, Bp. of Enaghduin, was reduced;" and to expose "the delusion practised on his majesty himself, as well as on the pontiff;" and further, with a view to obtaining redress, "lest in reproach of the episcopal dignity, the said bishop should be obliged to beg his bread." "It appears to us quite incredible and inconceivable," says King Edward, "that any such union can have been instituted by you . . . especially as the church of Enaghduin aforesaid is among the mere English, and ruled by an English bishop, and the church of Tuam among the mere Irish, and ruled by a mere Irish prelate, and the said bishopric of Enaghduin exceeds the taxation afore cited; so that the said union, if it have any existence, is quite repugnant to

Edward III.
complains of
the proceeding
to the
pontiff.

His description
of Annadown as
an English
settlement.

* Rymer, par. ii. p. 780.

the terms of our said father's application, and the informations above noticed, by virtue of which it is said to have been granted."*

Malachy succeeds in subjugating Enagh-dun.

Malachy however carried his point. And although the union of Achonry and Kilmacduagh to Tuam did not then take place, yet Enagh-dun remained united to it, and apparently by virtue of this authority, in succeeding ages. Malachy died at a very advanced age in 1348.†

Bishops of Enagh-dun still met with after the union to Tuam.

Attempts were subsequently made to revive and maintain a succession of prelates in Enagh-dun, as we find mention in after times, of persons appointed to the office on different occasions. Thus, in the next century, while Maurice O'Kelley was archbishop of Tuam, "John Brit, a Franciscan friar, was advanced to the see of Enagh-dun, upon the death of Henry Twillow, bp. thereof, on Jan. 24, 1402:" and again in the time, it would seem, of "Cornelius," archbishop of Tuam, "John Camere, a Franciscan friar also, was advanced to the see of Enagh-dune, upon the death of Matthew, on the 14th of Nov. 1421."‡ These latter bishops of Enagh-dun appear from their very names to have been of the English interest, which may have made the Irish residents of the diocese more willing to give up their local feelings in favour

* Rymer, par. ii. 780.

† Harris's Ware, pp. 560, 610.

‡ Ib. 611.

of a see for themselves, and to favour the union of their district to the diocese of Tuam, where a prelate ruled of a race, (in, at least, the most instances,) more congenial with the bent of their national feelings.

"In A.D. 1400, the church of Annadown was built, [or probably, 'repaired,' or only 'partially re-edified,'] by O'Flaherty (Hugh Mor) chief of his name:" which indicates the interest still taken in the place by the native sept connected with it, and the strength of their influence in the locality at the period referred to.*

In fact it appears to have been felt by this time, that, whatever claims the Anglican settlers might reasonably assert to some kind of ecclesiastical pre-eminence to be enjoyed by a dignitary of their nation in this part of Ireland, yet, the attempt to maintain a bishop of their own in the see of Annadown, in opposition to the national prejudices of the original inhabitants, had always more or less failed, and was more unlikely now than ever to be attended with success. The founding of the Collegiate Church of Galway, (referred to in the document quoted at the commencement of this article,) by Donat (or Donogh) O'Murray, archbishop of Tuam, [A.D. 1458-1484] would seem

O'Flaherty
"builds"
the church
of Anna-
down,
A.D. 1400.

Note as to
the occasion
for the foun-
dation of a
collegiate
church in
Galway.

* Hardiman's *h-Iar Connaught*, p. 156, notes.

to have been intended as a kind of compromise of the controversy; whereby very large privileges were conceded to the English settlers, in connection with the church of their capital and seaport town of Galway; while, at the same time, the natives were saved the pain of seeing a body of alien immigrants possessed of the invidious distinction of occupying an episcopal dignity connected with an ancient cathedral site of their own, consecrated too in their affections, from association with the name of one famous among the early fathers of the Irish Church.

Of the founding of the College, the following account is given in Roderic O'Flaherty's Chorographical Description of West Connaught.*

Roderick
O'Flaherty's account
of its origin.

"About the same time as aforementioned [1585] Donogh O'Murry, Archbishops of Tuam, instituted a Colledge (*Ware, Henry VII. ad an. 1501*) for St. Nicholas' Church in Galway, of a Wardian and eight chorall vicars, whereunto where appropriated nine parishes of the diocess; which had as many parish vicars, all under the Wardian, as well as the eight chorall vicars which served the high Church and the town. The Wardian is yearly elected by the common vote of the citizens, as the mayor is; but continued in one person for many years, according to the pleasure of the electors. Dominick Duffe Linche Fitz John, second mayor, and brother to the first, was chief founder of the Colledge. There was

* Hardiman, p. 24, ib.

but a small chappell soon before in this place. The Church was dedicated to S. Nicholas Bishope of Myra in Licia, worshipped the 6th of December; on which day Galway men invited to their table, such as they would have to keep Christmas next with them."

Yet the hospitalities of the Galway men, though extensive, were not in every sense unlimited, as appears from the following curious enactment (of the date A.D. 1518) recorded in the *Original Corporation Book* of the city, viz. :

Curious rule of the Galway men against the O's and Mac's.

"That no man of this town shall oste or receive into their houses at Christmas, Easter, nor no feaste elles, any of the Burkes, McWilliams, the Kellies, nor no cepte elles, without license of the mayor and councill on payn to forfeit £5; that neither O ne Mac shall strutte ne swaggere through the streets of Gallway."

"As a curious instance of the prejudice of the 'Old English' inhabitants of that town, against the 'mere Irish,' it has been observed" further, (as we read in Mr. Hardiman's notes on *Iar-Connaught*,) "that none of the O'Flaherties ever held, or would be suffered to hold, any office therein, because they were of the mere Irish; but their followers the Joyces were admitted to every civic employment, because they were of British extraction." For the Joyces are enumerated among the Welsh tribes, (i. e. the *Seoigh Iarthair Chonacht*,) who came to Ireland in the time of D. Mac Murrough, K. of Leinster.†

Their prejudices against the mere Irish illustrated in another instance.

The selection of the "walled or fortified town" of Galway for the residence of the prin-

The college property plundered

* p. 35, not. ib.

† p. 247 ib.

by the native Irish ;

against whom the pope fulminates a bull of excommunication for their offences.

cial church dignitary connected with the English in Annadown diocese, might appear well adapted for affording that individual, and the subordinate ministers of the college, protection from the hostility and assaults of their "wild Irish" neighbours. Such a hope was however not realized. The College became inheritor of the injuries, as well as the honours, of the bishopric, and the property assigned for the use of its officers was embezzled and made away with from its proper object, as the revenues of the see had been. So that it became necessary for Pope Alexander VI. to write, in 1501, to the Archbishop of Tuam and other bishops, ordering them to have sentence of excommunication published against all persons injuring or secreting the property in question, who did not, within a certain assigned period, make full and satisfactory discovery and restitution, of such portions of the same as they were liable for, to the warden and chapter of the church of St. Nicholas. Among the items of this property "rashly and maliciously embezzled, and clandestinely detained from the college," the pontiff enumerates generally in his letter, "tithes, fruits, rents, profits, chalices, church ornaments, oblations, lands, houses, possessions, water-courses, mills, quantities of wine, provender, corn, gold, silver coined and uncoined, oil, and

other substances, vessels of silver, brass, copper, tin, pieces of linen, woollen, and silken texture, clothes, jewels, household furniture, books, public and private writings, testamentary and other documents, horses, oxen, sheep, and other animals, debts, trusts, legacies, loans, sums of money, privileges, jurisdictions, and certain other goods, moveable and immoveable, legally belonging to the capitular table of the church aforesaid.”*

Concerning the state of Enaghduin in the middle of the 16th century, (under Henry VIII.) some information is furnished in the following letter from “the Earl of Ossorie to Thomas Cromwell, his Majesty’s secretary :”†

State of
Enaghduin
in the reign
of Henry
VIII.

“It may please yr good mastership to be advertized that this bearer [Thomas O’Mullaly, who was made Abp. of Tuam in 1513 and died 1536] hath made Petition to mee to ascertain yr mastership of the value of a bishopricke in Conaughte neere Galway . . . ye same bishopricke is called Enaghduine, distancing farre from the English pale, amongs the inordinate wild Irishry, not meete for any stranger of reputation, and exceedeth not xxli. yearly by my estimacon. The clergy whereof be farre out of order and the see church in ruine: for the reformation thereof it should be very necessary yt there were a head provided there, who must have

Letter of
the Earl of
Ossory connected with
it.

* p. 167 ib., where the document here cited is given in full.

† From Ware’s MSS. ex coll. D. Geo. Carew, vol. lxxv., p. 38. Lambeth Library.

friendshipp and favor of the country, er else little mighte prevail. And thus Jesu preserve your mastershipp.

"Yours. " P. Oss;

"To the Right worshipping Mr. Cromwell of
the King's most Honorable Council."

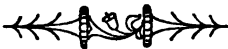
Motives influencing the English government in their disposal of Irish Church patronage.

"This letter illustrates the discreditable motives which were likely to prevail with the English government to induce them to appoint an Irishman to an Irish bishopric at the beginning of the Reformation; they are, first, that the bishopric was worth little; second, that it was so far from the court as not to be meet for any stranger of reputation; third, that being among the wild Irish, none but an Irishman would be safe there."*

English influence had, therefore, declined much at this time in the part of Ireland in question, so as to cause Annadown to be regarded as "farre from the English pale."

The advice given in this letter appears to have been followed, as we find mention in A.D. 1553 of a "John, Bp. of Enaghduan." See Art. XXV. inf. under *Cashel*.

* *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, for September, 1849, (No. 110. p. 327.)



No. XXII.

NOTES OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT OF THE 28TH YEAR OF KING
HENRY VIII., ETC.

The dates connected with the transactions of the above-named assembly, (to which the reader's attention has been directed at p. 683 of the present work,) are thus given in the *Irish Statutes*, printed *by authority*, in 8 vols. Dublin, 1765. Vol. i. p. 66. A.D. 1536.

The parliament commenced sitting "at Dublin, on Monday, the 1st of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our lord the King, &c." (i. e. 1536.) Parliament meets in Dublin May 1st.

"Thence on Wednesday, the last day of the same month of May, it was adjourned to Tuesday, the 25th day of July then next following, at Kilkenny, and there held and continued. At Kilkenny, July 25.

"And there on Wednesday, the 26th of July, it was adjourned to the next following Friday, viz., the 28th day of the same month of July, at Cashel, and there held and continued. Cashel. July 28.

"And there on the said Friday, viz., the 28th day of the said month of July, adjourned to the Wednesday then next following, viz., the 2nd of August, at the city of Limerick, and there held and continued. Limerick, August 2.

"And there, on Saturday, the 19th day of the same month of August, adjourned to Friday, the 15th day of the month of September then next following, at the city of Dublin aforesaid, and there held and continued. Dublin, Sep. 15.

"And there on Thursday, the 28th day of the same Prorogued

to Jan. 20,
(1536.)

month of September, prorogued to Saturday the 20th of January then next following, [i. e. 1536, O. S.] at the city of Dublin aforesaid, and there held and continued.

Again, to
May 1st,
(1537.)

"And there on Tuesday the 5th [*lege* 6th] day of February then next following, prorogued to Tuesday the 1st of May then next following, (i. e. 1537) at the city of Dublin aforesaid, and there held and continued.

Next, to
July 20.

"And there on Tuesday the 8th of May then next following, prorogued to Friday the 20th day of July then next following, at the city of Dublin aforesaid, and there held and continued.

Afterwards,
to Oct. 13.

"And there on Saturday, the 21st day of July then next following, prorogued to Saturday the 13th of October then next following, at the city of Dublin aforesaid:—and there on the 20th day of December then next following terminated and concluded. Anno 1537."

Ends, Dec.
20.

Note on the
authority of
the dates
above given.

The statement here given of the days of meeting and adjournment of the Parliament in question appears of doubtful authority. For it is quite at variance with an assertion contained in the letter of the Lord Deputy Grey (mentioned at p. 690 sup.) and Justice Brabazon to Lord Cromwell, written in May, 1537, which advertises his lordship "*that the Wednesday before Pentecost, being the 16th day of this month*, the Parliament was prorogued until the 20th day of July next coming;" whereas for "Wednesday the 16th," the above record has "Tuesday the 8th" of the month referred to.

Leap year,
where inter-
calated at
this period.

For the use of any one who cares to look into these dates, it may be proper to observe, that

although 1536 was a leap year according to the usual rule, yet there is no intercalary day added to the February of this year, *counted as commencing* (where the *legal, civil, and ecclesiastical years* of that age are commonly reckoned to commence, viz.,) *on March 25*; that in fact no such day was intercalated where one might expect it, in the year from March 25, 1535, to March 24, 1536, ending, (as may be easily seen from studying the given dates themselves,) which year included the February after the opening of this Parliament. But in what is called *the historical year* 1536, reckoned from January 1st, 1535, to January 1st, 1536, of the other sort, the month of February so included, (and which was the February *next before the Parliament sat*,) was increased by the intercalary day; the Sunday letters being for the historical year 1535, C; for January and February, 1536, B; and after that, A. Speaking of the common legal and ecclesiastical year, we should have to call 1535 (not 1536) the leap year, having the Sunday letters, C and B.

In the statutes corrected by the Record Commission, there is a note to the 28th Hen. VIII., c. 2, (the Succession Act, in favour of the King and Queen *Anna*,) saying that the *transmiss** of

The Acts of this Parliament referred apparently all to 1537.

* i. e. "a document sent over." By Poyning's Act, passed at Drogheda in 1494, every Irish measure was to be sent over to England,

that act was dated "Sep. 13, 27th year," *i. e.* September, 13, 1535, seven days after Archbishop Brown's letter advising the holding of the Parliament.

Now, ch. 17, which repeals this c. 2, recites the (English) Act of Succession made in a Parliament in Westminster the 8th of June, 28th year, (*i. e.* June, 1536,) and also an Act of Succession at a Parliament held by prorogation in Dublin, 13th Oct., 29th year, *i. e.* 13th October, 1537. If this latter act be the c. 2 aforesaid, as it would seem to be, then it would appear that in September, 1535, a copy of such an act was sent to London, in conformity with Poyning's Law, along with the advice to hold a Parliament; but although the latter met in May, 1536, by some means or other delay occurred, and the said act, c. 2, was not passed until October, 1537. The printed statutes refer all these acts to 1537. And ch. 12, which denies the proctors of the clergy any voice in the Parliament, is mentioned as one of a number of acts delivered for conveyance into Ireland, with a view to being passed by Parliament, in July, 1537. (Mant. i. 121.) How then could c. 2, be delayed to October 13th following, or how could Henry allow such a postponement of the Act es-

and submitted to the king for approval, before it could be entertained or discussed by the Parliament of Ireland.

tablishing the succession to the kingdom to occur? These are questions which I cannot attempt just now fully to unravel.

Of the proceedings under Henry VIII. connected with the interests of religion and the Church, at this period, the following is the curious account provided for the instruction of their less learned countrymen, by the *Four Masters*, in their *Annals*, compiled A.D. 1641. See O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, in A.D. 1537, p. 1445.

A curious account of Henry's alterations given by the *Four Masters*.

"A heresy and error of a new sort [sprang up] in England, through pride, vain glory, avarice, and lust, and through many strange sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the pope and to Rome. They at the same time adopted various opinions, and [among others] the old law of Moses in imitation of the Jewish people; and they styled the king the chief head of the Church of God in his own kingdom. New laws and statutes were enacted by the king and council [Parliament] according to their own will. They destroyed the Orders to whom worldly possessions were allowed namely the Monks, Canons, Nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four poor Orders, *i. e.* the orders of the Minors, Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians; and the lordships and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke down the Monasteries, and sold their roofs and bells, so that from Aran of the Saints to the Iccian Sea, [*i. e.* from Aranmore Id. in Galway Bay to the British Sea between England and France,] there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland of which the English

took no notice or heed. They afterwards burned the images, shrines, and relics, of the saints of Ireland and England; they likewise burned the celebrated image of [the B. V.] Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, and the crippled, and persons affected with all kinds of diseases, and they also burned the staff of Jesus which was in Dublin, performing miracles, from the time of St. Patrick down to that time, and had been in the hands of Christ while he was among men. They also appointed archbishops and suffragan bishops for themselves;* and though great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the Church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this; so that it is impossible to narrate or tell its description, unless it should be narrated by one who saw it." p. 1449.

Regulations
of the sta-
tute of the
25th of
Henry VIII.
relative to
episcopal ap-
pointments,
&c. in Eng-
land.

By the (English) Act of the 25th of Henry VIII., entitled "An Act for the non-payment of First Fruits to the Bishop of Rome," power was given to the Crown, on a bishopric falling vacant, to nominate to the dean and chapter of the see, a person whom they were bound, under the severest penalties, (imprisonment for life, &c.) to elect for bishop, and whom the archbishop or metropolitan of the province was bound, under like penalties, to "*confirm, invest, and consecrate with all due circumstances.*" At the "confirming," all persons who might be aware of any just ground or impediment against proceed-

* *i. e.* "without authority from the pope."—O'Donovan *in loc.*

ing with the consecration of the prelate elect, were publicly cited to come forward and state their objections : and such objections had been often made and allowed. Without this process, or on the objections having been admitted and established, the election was null and void. And several instances of archbishops *refusing to confirm* (previously to the statute of Henry above mentioned) are to be met with in Wharton's "*Anglia Sacra* ;" such refusals being grounded on objections made in regular form, according to the mode of citation and objection which has been in practice in England from the earliest period.

How far Henry VIII. designed to continue to the Church the use of a liberty which afforded legal opportunity of excluding from the highest ecclesiastical position men of unsound faith, scandalous ignorance and incompetence, or immoral character, may be collected from the following passage in "*The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*," a work drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, and of which the original, believed to be in his own handwriting, and *amended in some places by the hands of King Henry VIII. himself*, (to whom it was submitted for approval,) is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In this work, published in 1536, four years after the statute of

Henry VIII.'s view of the case illustrated from the "*Institution of a Christian Man*."

the 25th of Henry VIII., and with the sanction of that monarch, the duties and privileges of the different parties concerned in the appointments to Church benefices are thus described :*

Doctrine of this work relative to ecclesiastical patronage.

Special mention of the case of episcopal appointments.

“ The second point, wherein consisteth the jurisdiction committed unto Priests and Bishops, by the authority of God’s law, is to approve and admit such persons, as (being nominated elected and presented unto them, to exercise the office and room of preaching the Gospel, and of ministering the sacraments, and to have the cure of jurisdiction over these certain people within this parish, or within this diocese) shall be thought unto them meet and worthy to exercise the same ; *and to reject and repel from the said room such AS THEY SHALL JUDGE to be unmeet therefore.* And in this part we must know and understand, that the said presentation and nomination is of man’s ordinance, and appertaineth unto the founders and patrons, or other persons, according to the laws and ordinances of men provided for the same. As, for an example, within this realm the presentation and nomination of the Bishoprics appertaineth unto the Kings of this realm ; and of other lesser cures and personages some unto the King’s Highness, some unto other noble men, some unto Bishops, and some unto other persons, whom we call patrons of the benefices, according as it is provided by the order of the laws and ordinances of this realm. And *unto the Priests and Bishops belongeth, by the authority of the Gospel, to approve and confirm the person which shall be by the King’s Highness or other patrons, so nominated, elected, and presented unto them to have the cure of these certain people, within this certain parish or diocese, OR ELSE TO REJECT HIM, as was said before, from the same, for his demerits or unworthiness.*”

* See the *Guardian*, Feb. 9 and 16, 1848.

In the late case, however, of the famous (Hampden) controversy relative to the see of Hereford, (in 1848,) it was set forth as the opinion of the crown lawyers of England, that the archbishop of a province has no power to reject, in any case, the person presented to him for consecration, whatever his character, or the nature of the evidence adducible concerning it. The words of the Attorney-General of England on that occasion are worthy the attention of churchmen. "*I will take,*" said he, "*the case of a man not suspected merely, but actually convicted of some atrocious crime, being presented by the crown to a Bishopric, and elected by the Dean and Chapter, has the Archbishop any right to reject him?*" UNDOUBTEDLY NOT. *I say he has no choice; he must obey the Act of Parliament.*" And on this opinion the Court of Queen's Bench practically acted in the case then before them: for although of the four judges on the bench, two were of an opposite opinion, and ruled that the archbishop had a judicial power to hear and pronounce upon objections, yet by the equal division of the members of the court, the *mandamus* petitioned for on that occasion, (and which would have given liberty for objections to be received and inquired into, before consecration,) was, according to the rule of law in such cases, refused. Meanwhile,

Recent interpretation of the statute of Henry by the crown lawyers of England.

the general question, as to whether the law of England be, that objectors shall be heard, or not, remains undecided, as before it was brought into the court, and the minister of the crown, if he please to appoint to an episcopal see, one holding all Roman, or all Socinian, doctrine, may still do so without any member of the Church having an understood and established right of stating and proving his objections, in legal form, to the consecration of such an individual.

Statement
of Mr. Jus-
tice Cole-
ridge in his
judgment
on the
Hampden
case.

The following passage from the judgment of Mr. Justice Coleridge, one of the two judges favourable to the hearing and examining into objections, in the case aforesaid, contains at the close an allusion to the circumstances of the Church of Ireland in relation to episcopal appointments, which will probably prove not uninteresting to those who feel anxious for her welfare and reputation. The case of Ireland, where there is not retained even the form or shadow of capitular election, or "confirmation" of bishops, previously to their consecration, (the bishoprics being donative here by letters patent,) had been adduced in support of the assertion, that the crown did not contemplate permitting the rejection of *any candidate* nominated by its authority for consecration to the episcopal office. Referring to the phrase,

Magna Charta of Tyranny; which had been applied to the act of the 25th Henry VIII., above mentioned, Judge Coleridge said :—

“ If the statute be rightly construed by the Crown lawyers, then the phrase is, in my opinion, a perfectly just, a strictly accurate one—not because it casts off the vexatious interference of Rome with a somewhat rough hand, or asserts the prerogative of the Crown in the nomination of Bishops with over-urgent severity, *but because it bids freemen and Christians still to wear the garb of freemen, and use the most solemn ordinances of their religion, yet bear an intolerable yoke on their consciences, and profane those ordinances by the most barefaced mockery ; because it commands the highest officers in our Holy Church to assume the form and countenance of judges—to hold the semblance of an open Court—to invite opposers, and swear witnesses on the Gospels—to pronounce a solemn sentence in the name of the Saviour—and yet tells them that all is but shadow and sham—that they are but ministers and servants, with no more discretion as to the act they perform than the slave of an absolute master ; because, worst of all, if worse can be, it compels them to summon their com-provincial Bishops to aid them in consecrating no matter whom, bad-liver, heretic, Jew, or Turk, in violation of their own solemn vows—against, it may be, their own deep convictions and most ascertained knowledge—it bids them, in prayer and solemn hymn, to invoke the presence of the Holy Spirit to this monstrous profanation—in the most awful language to confer that immeasurable gift on the mocking infidel, it may be, before them ; and to administer to him that rite from which, on the morrow, they would be bound in strictness to exclude him. And all this it bids them do, or, as it is said, without possibility of defence—with no plea that could be sustained in a court of justice—it strips*

Profaneness
of episcopal
“ confirmation,” re-
garded only
as a form.

them of the Queen's protection, forfeits their lands and tenements, goods, and chattels, casts their bodies into prison for life, or during the pleasure of the Crown. *As no infidel could contrive a more blasphemous mockery of religion than such a consecration would be, so it would puzzle a tyrant to invent a more cruel and disproportionate punishment.* My consolation, and a great one it is, is that I do not and cannot so interpret the statute. I do not believe, nor shall I, until I am told so by the highest judicial authority in the land, that we have such a law under which we live. I do not believe that in any age, or under any Monarch, Lords and Commons of England would be found to pass a law with such enactments as these—under which such things could even be possible. I cannot think that, for so many centuries, holy men should have been found, in unbroken series, content to lay on their consciences so heavy burthens as these.

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How the
case stands
in Ireland.

But it was said that the construction of the statute I deprecate in such strong language—(language I meant not to be strong, but the simplest statement of the idea which it conveys makes it seem strong)—only brings about, in substance, the same state of things as by law now exists in the realm of Ireland and in our Colonial Church. As regards the latter, the argument is wholly unfounded. The sees have been erected in the Colonies, and the Bishops appointed, not under any acts of the Legislature, but by the exercise of the royal prerogative alone, and the Metropolitan is under no statutory compulsion whatever as to the consecration; it cannot be pretended that he may not exercise an entire, though of course responsible, discretion as to the performance of that rite in any given case. And, as to Ireland, the argument, to have any weight, must assume the Crown's lawyers' construction of the statute; if consecration be not a ministerial act under the statute of Elizabeth, but

the Metropolitan is at liberty to act according to his conscience, and will incur no penalties if he only refuses to consecrate, where the canonical unfitness of the appointed makes it right and proper that he should decline;—then the legal condition of the Irish branch of the Church is not in any way to be pressed as an argument against the rule.”

No. XLIII.

ABSTRACT OF THE BULL OF POPE PAUL III. DENOUNCED AGAINST
KING HENRY VIII.

The following account, and abridged summary of the contents, of this notable document, is extracted from Foulis's "*History of Romish Treasons*," &c. Lond. 1681, p. 315.

“ But let the king think as well as he pleaseth of his own authority, the pope will have as good opinion of his own; and to let King Henry see how far his jurisdiction reacheth, Paul III. (k) draws up a thundering bull against his Majesty, in which he deprives him of his dominions: this for some time he keeps by him, but at last sent it (i) roaring abroad; and what a notable thing it was, Father Paul (one of the most judicious Friars that ever set pen to paper) shall tell you (k)—a terrible thundering bull, such as was never used by his predecessors, nor imitated by his successors.

“ (A) 30 Aug. 1535.

(i) Publ. Dec. 17, 1535.

(k) Hist. Conc. T., lib. I. p. 86.”

"The thing itself being very long, and as tedious as idle, I shall refer you for it to their Bullaria, but the substance of it take as followeth.

"It begins with a canting or Quaking preface (as most other Bulls do) oddly misapplying of the Holy Scripture to fob up the Papal power.

"Rants dapperly against the king and his subjects that obey him.

"Interdicts all cities, Churches, Places, which favour or adhere to him.

"Declares him, his friends, and their children, deprived of all benefits and privileges, and incapable to obtain any.

"Absolves all his subjects from their oaths of obedience or allegiance to him their king.

"Pronounceth that he and his adherents shall be held as infamous; their wills, Testimonies, Credits, and Authorities not to be of any validity.

"Prohibits under papal punishment, to deal, trade, or have any meddling with such wicked people.

"Injoyns all ecclesiastics forthwith to avoid the king's dominions, nor to return thither but by a papal licence, upon sure certificate of the said king's repentance and submission

"Commands the nobility, gentry, and others to make it their care and business to expel and depose the said Henry from his dominions.

"Declares all leagues, treaties, or agreements, made by the said king, with other Christian princes, to be null; which if the said kings and potentates do not forthwith submit to as void and of none effect, that then their respective territories to lye under interdiction, and so to remain, till the said princes shall renounce all amity and alliance with the said Henry.

"Exhorts and commands all the said princes and others by vertue of their obedience, to invade, spoil, take

arms, and fight against the said king, and all those who are subject to him. And as for the goods, ships, and whatsoever else they take from the said English, He by his infallible and papal authority giveth to the said takers all right and propriety.

“Willeth all Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and all other ecclesiastics, under pain of the severest censures, publicly to declare by Bell Book and Candle, the said Henry and all his adherents excommunicated.

“Requireth that none, under the guilt of the same censures, any way hinder the publication of this Bull against the king.

“And if any do withstand, contradict, or gainsay, by any means, signs, or tokens whatever, this bull, that then he or they so opposing, shall incur the wrath of Almighty God and the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

“Dated at Rome at St. Mark’s anno 1535, III. Kal. Septemb. In the 1st year of our Popedom.”

No. XLIV.

TWO PAPAL EPISTLES ENCOURAGING O’NEILL TO REBELLION IN
SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

(A.D. 1538 AND 1541.)

The following is the letter mentioned at p. 697 sup., as having been written in the name of Pope Paul and his cardinals to O’Neill of Ulster, to excite him to rebellion against Henry VIII., in support of the authority of the Church of Rome in Ireland.

"My son O'Neal,

• Prophecy of the downfall of the Church of Rome, on the failure of the "Catholic" faith in Ireland.

"Thou and thy fathers are all along faithful to the mother Church of Rome. His Holiness Paul, now Pope, and the council of the holy fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining, of one St. Laserianus, an Irish bishop of Cashel, wherein he saith, that the mother Church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the Catholic faith is overcome. Therefore for the glory of the mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his holiness' enemies, for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also. *Therefore the Council of Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland as a sacred island; being certified, whilst the mother Church hath a son of worth as yourself, and those that shall succour you and join therein, that she will never fall; but have more or less a holding in Britain in spite of fate.*

"Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the [care of the] Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the heavenly host of heaven. Amen.

"Episcopus Metensis."

(Vid. Ware's *Life of Abp. Browne*. Cox's *Hist.* i. 258.)

In April, 1541, another letter of kindred purport was addressed to Con O'Neill by Pope Paul himself, of which the following is a translation, (from the Latin original in De Burgo, *Hib. Dom.* p. 873.)

Letter of Pope Paul III. to Con O'Neill.

"Diploma of Paul III., Supreme Pontiff, to the most excellent Lord Con O'Neill, Prince of the Irish in Ulster.

"To our beloved son, the noble Con O'Neill, prince of the Irish in Ulster, Paul III. pope.

"Beloved Son, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"The letter of your eminence dated on the Eve of the Feast of All Hallows, we have duly received from the hand of your son Raymond, who conveyed to us that communication, accompanied with a still more copious detail from his own lips, of circumstances, which have given rise to a variety of sensations in our mind. For the tidings that your island is drawn astray by that modern king [Henry VIII.] into such awful impiety, wasted with such cruelty, and the honour of Almighty God trampled under foot with such savage ferocity, have excited in us such painful feelings as could not but be awakened by intelligence of the kind. But on the other hand, when we were apprised by your own letter, and the observations of the said Raymond, of your standing up as champion, at once for the honour of God, and for the Church of Rome, and for the Catholic religion, we were overcome with sensations of paternal affection and exulting gladness at the thought.

which expresses the pontiff's mingled sensations connected with Ireland.

"To you therefore, beloved son, we have to convey such praise and commendation in the Lord our God as is but your just due. And to Him we both render thanksgivings for His granting us at this time for the conservation of that island, one distinguished by such valour and piety as yourself, and also offer our prayers, that He may long preserve you to us, and prosper your efforts in our cause. And as for ourselves, we have taken upon us that concern for you, and for the other champions of the Catholic faith, which we are bound to entertain, and which you have petitioned us to accept.

His praise of Con O'Neill,

Wherefore, noble Sir, we exhort you in the Lord, yourself and all the clans of Ireland, following your authority and godly example, to resolve on persevering in the Catholic religion, which you have received from your

and exhortations to him to maintain his loyalty to Rome.

fathers, and preserved with the noblest constancy to these times, thus pursuing a course worthy of yourselves, worthy of the true faithful people of Christ. And for our part, embracing as we do, your island, with feelings of no ordinary affection, and wishing, as we do, to see it still maintain its old allegiance to our holy faith, we shall never be wanting to you, noble sir, or to the others who follow the example of your piety: all which our feelings and purposes you shall understand more fully from John [Codure] and Alphonsus [Salmeron, members of the order of Ignatius Loyola] our agents, and your own Raymond.

"Dated from Rome, April xxiv. 1541, the 7th year of our Pontificate."

No. XXIII.

SPECIMEN OF THE FORMS OF SUBMISSION TENDERED BY THE IRISH PRINCES TO KING HENRY VIII.

The following specimen of the deeds of submission to King Henry VIII., tendered by the Irish princes to that monarch, is extracted from Cox's History of Ireland, (pp. 273, 274, Lond. 1689,) in which it is given from the *Red Book of the Privy Council of Ireland*.

Lord Barry,
Mac Carty
More, &c.,
bind themselves to Sir
A. St. Le-
ger, &c.

"This indenture made on the 26th day of September, 34 Hen. VIII., between the most noble Ant. Saintleger, James, Earl of Desmond, William Brabazon Esq., Treasurer at War, and Subtreasurer of the realm of Ireland, John Travers Esq., Master of the Ordnance, and Osborn

Echingham, Field Marshall, &c., on the one part; and the Lord Barry [more] alias the Great Barry, Mac Carty More, the Lord Roche, alias de Rupe, Mac Carty Reagh, Thady Mac Cormick, the Lord Muskry, Barry Oge, alias the young Barry, O'Sullivan Bear, Captain of his nation, Donald O'Sullivan, chief of his nation, Barry Roe, alias the Red Barry, Mac Donough of Allow, Captain of his nation, Donald O'Callaghane, Chief of his nation, and Gerald FitzJohn, knight, on the other part; Doth witness, that the aforesaid Lord Barry, &c. do covenant, agree, consent, and engage, for themselves jointly and separately, their heirs, successors, assigns, tenants, and followers, unto and with the said Deputy, &c. that they will hold to and perform, all and singular the articles, agreements, terms and conditions which in this indenture are contained as devolving on their part, &c.

"*Imprimis*, They and each of them do and doth recognize the king's Majesty aforesaid, and the kings his successors, to be their natural and liege lord, and him and them second after God they will honour, and obey and serve them against all creatures of the universe. And his majesty and the kings his heirs and successors they will accept and hold for the supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland; his and their lieutenants, Deputies, and vicegerents in this realm of Ireland, they will obey and serve in all matters pertaining to the service of his majesty or of the kings his heirs and successors.

"And as far as lieth or may lie in the power of themselves or of their assigns, jointly or separately, they will annihilate the usurped primacy and authority of the bishop of Rome, and all his favorers, abettors, and partizans, they will to the utmost of their power disperse and abolish; and such persons, whether spiritual or temporal, as are promoted to church benefices or digni-

to receive
K. Henry
VIII. for
supreme
head of the
Church of
England
and Ireland,

and to abo-
lish all su-
premacy of
the Bishop
of Rome in
their terri-
tories.

ties by the king's majesty or other rightful patrons, (without any provision to be made by the bishop of Rome aforesaid,) they will maintain, support, and defend. And all and singular provisors and others, who shall sue and repair to Rome for promotion, they will henceforward apprehend, and bring before the king's common law, to be tried and corrected according to the statutes and ordinances made and to be made for such cases."

No. XXIV.

LIST OF BISHOPS PRESENT IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT OF
A.D. 1560.

List of the
prelates who
gave their
sanction to
the estab-
lishment of
the Reforma-
tion in
Ireland.

In Volume II. of the Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, we are supplied in the appendix with an enumeration of the prelates, temporal peers, &c., who were present in the parliament which assembled at Dublin in the year 1560. The portion of this record which contains the names of the bishops who were in attendance on that occasion is here inserted, accompanied with an extract from the same volume, descriptive of the authority from which the list in question is derived.—(*Tracts, &c.*, vol. 2, p. 134.)

"The following list of the lords spiritual and temporal, knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the first Irish

parliament of Q. Elizabeth, held at Dublin, A.D. 1560, is taken from a record preserved in the rolls office there, furnished by the intelligent officer of inrolments in that department, Geo. Hatchell, Esq. It is inserted here for preservation, as it has not been hitherto printed, and as the original document is in a state of decay, being in some parts quite illegible."

The roll says that the parliament was held "die Veneris proxime ante festum Sti. Hilarii, viz. 11 die Jan. anno regni Reginæ E. secundo."

"DOMINI SPIRITUALES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Hugo Dublin, Archieps. Hibernisq. primas, dominus cancell. Hiberniæ. | 12 Hugo Lymericen. Eps. |
| 2 Rollandus Cassil. Arps. | 13 Rollandus Clonfert & Elph. Eps. |
| 3 Christophorus Tuam. Arps. | 14 Eugenius Dunen. Eps. |
| 4 Willielmus Midensis. Eps. | 15 Eps. Rosensis. |
| 5 Patricius Wat. & Lismor. Eps. | 16 Eps. Lاونensis. |
| 6 Rogerus Cork & Clon. Eps. | 17 Eps. Coranensis. |
| 7 Alexander Fern. Eps. | 18 Eps. Aladensis. |
| 8 Thomas Darenis. Eps. | 19 Eps. Ardfertensis. |
| 9 Thomas Leghlin. Eps. | 20 Eps. Ardacadensis." |
| 10 Johannes Oasorien. Eps. | [Sequuntur domini temporales |
| 11 — Imolacensis, Eps. | 23, i. e. comites, vicecomites, barones, domini.] |

No. XXV.

STATE OF THE EPISCOPACY OF IRELAND IN A.D. 1560.

That the prelates of the Reformed Irish Church have received their episcopal succession in a regular and unbroken line from the bishops of the ancient Irish Church, and that no other

The succession of the Irish Church unbroken at the Reformation.

line of prelates can trace their origin to the same source, is a plain, simple, historical truth, to which different persons, according to their several private opinions, will attach very different degrees of importance, but which no person of moderate information and candour will attempt to gainsay or deny. As however ignorance and perverseness have combined to keep afloat a notion that the lawful prelates were ejected from their sees at the time of the Reformation, and that a succession may have been carried on somehow or other from them to the Hiberno-Roman prelates of a later age; it may be useful for the sake of dissipating such speculations, to set before the reader a concise notice of the order of succession in each of the sees of Ireland at the time in question, from which it will appear plainly, that excepting the two intruding prelates appointed to Meath and Kildare by Queen Máry, as mentioned in the text of this work, no others were deprived at the time when the statutes enacting the Reformation in Ireland were introduced.

The question concerns only the reign of Q. Elizabeth, and the time after.

It is of course unnecessary to pursue this inquiry any further back than to the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign; as all are agreed that the persons who occupied the different Irish sees at the close of Queen Mary's reign, were the lawful prelates of the Irish

Church, appointed in the regular course of the old succession, and in most instances with such attention to canonical order as was then usual. With the cases of those bishops, therefore, who renounced or supported the papal supremacy in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. we have nothing to do in this place. The question to be considered is simply this.—Who were the persons in possession in the year 1560, and how came they, in each case respectively, to leave their places vacant, whether by death, translation, or deprivation? To commence with the primatial see of

Armagh.

This see having been vacant at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, continued so until

ADAM LOFTUS was consecrated abp. by Hugh Curwin, Abp. of Dublin, and other bps. in March, at the close of 1563 (H. 94)

THOMAS LANCASTER, his successor, was consecrated by Adam, Abp. Dublin, Hugh bp. Meath, and Robt. bp. Kildare, 1568.

Meath.

On the deprivation of bp. Walsh, HUGH BRADY was appointed to this see by Queen Elizabeth in A.D. 1568. He is commended as an honest, learned, and zealous prelate, "a godly minister of the gospel," and attentive to his episcopal duties. (H. 156, p. 783 sup., Mant. i. 276, 298.)

Clonmacnoise.

PETER WALL, 1556—1568; was a Dominican friar (H. 174)
In the *Loftus MS. Annals* we read, at A.D. 1568, "This year by ye authority of Parlt. was ye Bprick. of Clonmacnoise united to ye Bprick. of Meath."

Clogher.

HUGH O'CERVALLAN, promoted by Pope Paul III. in 1542, was alive in 1557; how long after is not known.*

MILER MAGRAGH, Franciscan Friar, succeeded in 1570. He was advanced by Pope Pius V. to the bpk. of Down; but afterwards becoming a convert to Protestantism, was appointed to Clogher, and to Cashel in 1570. He made scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues which were the property of the latter see. (Mant, i. 280, H. 188.)

Down and Connor.

EUGENE MAGENIS, advanced by provision from Pope Paul III.; succ. 1541, sed. 1560. He was present in the parliament of Dublin which abolished the supremacy of the pope (H. 205)

[These sees were granted to JAMES MAC CAGHWELL, by Queen's Letter in A.D. 1564. MS. notes in Dr. Todd's H. Ware. See *Cashel* below.]

JOHN MERIMAN, the next bishop, was consecrated by Thomas Lancaster, Abp. of Armagh, assisted by the bps. of Meath, Kildare, and Ossory, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, A.D. 1568-9 (Ib.)

Kilmore.

DERMOD, bp. of this see, dying in 1529, EDMUND NUGENT is the next successor on record; sed. 1541. The see lying in an unsettled and tumultuous country, was much neglected by the English crown; so that even after the Reformation, the bishops succeeded by usurpation or papal authority.

RICHARD BRADY was bp. of Kilmore, under the pope's title, before 1567; but in the year 1586, the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, writing to the council of England, set forth that he had dispossessed him of the place, and recommended JOHN GARVEY, dean of Christ Church, to supplant him; who was accordingly by letters patent, dated the following 27th of January, 1586, promoted to the government of this see (H. 230)

Armagh.

PATRICK MAC MAHON, 1553—1572, was before a suffragan to Dowdall, abp. of Armagh. He injured the property of his see by leases made out for his own advantage (H. 255)

* He, with Eugene Magenis of Down, and others, having sworn fealty to Henry VIII., "received," according to Mr. Brennan, "the wages of their sinful servility." —Ec. Hist. ii. 92.

BISHOPS.

ARTHUR MAGENIS, sed. 1550, by pope's bull, confirmed by Edward VI. Nothing more is known of the succession in this see to A.D. 1606 .. (H. 264)

BISHOPS.

CORNS. O'CAHAN, sed. 1550; how much longer, unknown .. (H. 274)
DONALD MAGONELL, sed. 1563, as *titular bp.* appointed by the pope. He assisted at the Council of Trent in 1563, and died at Killybeg in 1589, [at which year his death is noted in the *Four Masters*] (H. 275)
NIAL O'BOYLE is noticed as bp. in 1597 by the *Four Masters*, who also mention his death at 1611.

BISHOPS.

RODE. O'DONNELL died 1551. Eugene Magenis succeeded; but no date connected with his occupancy is known.

REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, a papal bishop of this see, was killed, according to the *Four Masters*, on the 15th of March, 1601, in the course of the war then raging in Ulster. His name occurs also in the same authority at 1597.

GEO. MONTGOMERY succeeded by appointment of King James in 1606. (H. 291)

In the Manuscript Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is preserved (in the MS. E. 3, 8,) a copy of a letter addressed by Cardinal Alan to the Redmond O'Gallagher here named, and to two other bishops appointed by papal authority in Ireland, giving them very extensive powers for the performance of ecclesiastical functions in all England and Ireland. Of this letter (written between the years 1591 and 1601) the following extract, containing somewhat less than half of the entire, but comprising all that is of much interest in the whole, appears worthy of insertion for the reader's perusal in this place.

"We, William, Cardinal of the Church of Rome, commonly entitled Cardinal Alan, in pursuance of the letters apostolic addressed to Cardinal us in this behalf by the most holy pontiff, Gregory the XIV. of worthy memory, on the 18th day of September, 1591, to the most reverend Redmond lords, Redmond Derry, Richard Kilmore,* Cornelius Down, bishops. O'Gallagher Having been sufficiently informed of your piety, learning, and zeal for lagher, &c.

* i.e. it seems, Richd. Brady, above mentioned, under Kilmore. For "Cornelius" of Down, see Art. LXVIII. inf.

pretending to endow them with sundry spiritual powers, &c.

the house of God, we give you our faculty, and grant our license, for the hearing of confessions, and absolving of penitents from all their sins, however enormous, and in all cases whatsoever, including those which are mentioned in the *Bulla Cernæ Domini*, and even from heresy and schism, and any censures which may have been incurred in consequence of them; and this in *in foro conscientie* merely [as they speak.] We do likewise give you our faculty for preaching, administering the sacraments of the Church, and performing universally, even in profane places, all functions which may be profitable for the welfare of souls, and which are usually exercised by persons of the episcopal order, or by license from them; and in particular, we authorize you to celebrate mass, in fit and convenient places, even before daylight, on portable altars; and for blessing sacerdotal vestments and other matters of the kind; provided only that regard be had to decency in all respects, and to such a degree of propriety as circumstances will in those places admit of, &c." [Then follow privileges connected with marriage, &c.]

KILDARE.

THOMAS LEVEROUS having been deprived in 1560, ALEXANDER CRAYKE succeeded by letters patent, and was consecrated by Hugh Curwen, Abp. of Dublin, 1560—1564. He reduced the see of Kildare to very great poverty, and did very much mischief thereto (H. 391)

OSNEY.

JOHN BALE having been driven away in 1553, JOHN THONORBY was advanced to this see by Queen Mary, and was occupant thereof, 1553—1565. He scraped wealth iniquitously together by impoverishing the see, but afterwards lost his gains by the hands of plunderers (H. 418)

FITH.

ALEXANDER DEVEREUX, 1539—1566; had been the last abbot of Dunbrody. He was consecrated bishop by George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, and other bishops (H. 445)

JOHN DEVEREUX, 1566—1578; was consecrated by Hugh Curwen (H. 446) Alexander Devereux is charged by Ware with having made several leases in favour of his relatives and others, to the great detriment of his see. In fact, both he and John Devereux are accused of such sacrilegious waste, for the benefit of "their kindred and bastards," by their successor Thomas Ram, bishop in 1612. (H. 445, Mant, l. 375, pp. 872, 873 sup.)

Trighlin.

THOMAS FIELD or **O'Fihel**, 1555—1567; a Franciscan friar of Cork, was appointed by papal provision in the room of Bp. Travera.

Cashel.

ROLAND BARON, 1553, ob. 1561. Appointed by Q. Mary. His writ of consecration (Nov. 26) was directed to George [*i. e.* Dowdall] Abp. of Armagh [1543—1558]; Geo. [Browne] Abp. of Dublin [1535—1554]; Edwd. [Staples, 1530—1534] Bp. of Meath; Robt. [Travera, 1550—1555] Bp. of Leighlin; Dominic, [Tirrey, 1536—1556] Bp. of Cork; John [—1551—?] Bp. of Ross; Alexander [Devereux, 1539—1556] Bp. of Ferns; Patk. [Walsh, 1551—1578] Bp. of Lismore and Waterford; and John [?] Bp. of Enaghduin.

After Baron's death, the see remained vacant for seven years.

Then **JAMES MAC CAGHWELL**, 1567—1570, was appointed by Q. Elizabeth. He was not long after wounded with a skeine, or Irish knife, by Maurice Gibbon, (alias M. Reagh,) whom the pope had just before made his titular archbishop of Cashel, because he would not give up to him the administration of the diocese. Maurice thereupon found it expedient to flee into Spain, where he died in 1578 (H. 483, and Loftus MS., A.D. 1567)

Emly.

ENEAS O'HIFERNAN, 1543—1553, having died, Reymund de Burgh, an Observantin Franciscan friar, succeeded; he died in 1562, and was buried in a Franciscan monastery at Adare. The see was united to Cashel in 1568 (H. 499)

Timurick.

WILLIAM CASEY, succ. 1551, depr. 1556. Succ. iter 1571, ob. 1591. Was advanced by Edward VI. (his predecessor, John Coyn, having resigned, as being "blind and disabled by infirmities,") and consecrated by Browne Abp. of Dublin, and the Bps. of Kildare, Ferns, and Leighlin, [*i. e.* Lancaster, 1550—1554. Alexander Devereux, 1539—1566; and R. Travera, 1550—1555.]

DENIS CAMPBELL was appointed coadjutor by Q. Elizabeth in 1558, Bp. Casey being then very feeble and unequal to the discharge of his episcopal duties. (H. 510)

HUGH LACY was appointed bp. in 1587 by Pope Paul IV. He however resigned in 1571, and was succeeded by Casey (H. 511)

Ardfert.

JAMES FITZ MAURICE, sed. 1551—1576; seems to have been called also Fitz Richard, and was (it appears) attainted of high treason in or before the 30th of Elizabeth. (Vid. Art. XLVIII. inf., Rot. Canc. 39 Eliz. MS. notes in H. 523)

The following entry is found in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1582:—

"A gentleman of the Clann Sheehy, i. e. Murtough the son of Edmond, son of Manus, son of Edmond Mac Sheehy, who was along with the sons of Mac Maurice at this time [in their attack upon Ardfer] was slain in the doorway of the monastery of Odorney [Abbey-Odorney, barony of Clanmaurice, Co. Kerry] by the sons of the bishop of Kerry, who were aiding the Queen's people on that occasion." O'Don. p. 1781, who notes rightly that this was James Fitzmaurice, bp. of Ardfer. And a little farther on, in the annals of the same year, again:—

"James and Gerald the sons of the bishop of Kerry [James Fitz Maurice, bp. of Ardfer] . . . were slain by the sons of Edmond Mac Sheehy, in revenge for their brother Murtough, whom the sons of the bishop had slain some time before."—O'D. p. 1787.

Again, at A.D. 1583 we read in the same Annals:—

"The bishop of Kerry died, namely, James the son of Richard, son of John. This bishop was a vessel full of wisdom. He was of the stock, &c." . . . [of some of the first invaders of Ireland, Maurice Fitzgerald, &c.]—O'Donovan, p. 1801.

In connection with such passages as the above, it may be no harm to draw the attention of the unlearned reader to the circumstance, that the *Four Masters*, zealous as they were for the Church of Rome, had no notion of any other persons, as the "bishop of Kerry," "the archbishop of Tuam," &c., except the lawful prelates who had adopted the reformed religion, and their lawful successors.

Waterford and Lismore.

PATRICK WALSH, 1551—1576; appointed by King Edward VI. (H. 537)

Cork and Cloyne.

DOMINIC TIRREY, 1536—1566, appointed by Henry VIII., was consecrated in 1536 by Edmund Butler, Abp. of Cashel, and the Bps. [—] of Ross, [John Cohn, 1522—1551] of Limerick, and [Thomas Hurley—1542] of Emly.

The pope during his time nominated Lewis Mac Nemarra, a Franciscan friar, in 1540, and (he dying in a few days) afterwards John Hoyeden, canon of Elphin. But Tirrey held the profits and sat about 20 years. He was reckoned a favourer of the changes in religion then in agitation (H. 564)

ROGER SKIDDY, 1557—1566, appointed by Queen Mary, having been previously made Dean of Limerick by Edward VI. in the 6th year of his reign. Mary's appointment, which was made in 1557, was confirmed by Elizabeth in 1562. He resigned in 1566, after which the see was vacant for almost four years (H. 564)

RICHD. DIXON, succd. in 1570; and was deprived in 1571 for some cause which is not recorded. (Vid. Loftus MS. in A.D. 1571.)

MATTHEW SHEYN, succ. 1573. He was a great enemy to the superstitious veneration paid by the people to images; and as an instance of his zeal against

them, publicly burned at the high cross of Cork the image of St. Dominic, to the great grief of the superstitious people of that place. He died in 1582 or, 3. (H. 564)

REES.

DERMOT MAC DOMNUIL was bp. of Ross in 1544, and died in 1552. One John is found named as bishop of the see in 1551.

THOMAS O'HERLIHY, called bp. of Ross by a papal title in 1563, resigned in 1570. This bishop assisted at the Council of Trent in 1563, together with the bishops Donatus, styled of Raphoe, and Eugene, styled of Achonry.

In fact it seems manifest that these prelates received their appointment at Rome chiefly with a view, in the first instance, to their assisting the pope, and strengthening his cause in the council in question. In the records of that council we find it noted that the promotion of all three took place in the same month, of May, 1562. That of Eugene O'Hairt, and Thomas Oyerlaitte, (as he is there called,) being dated on the 25th of the said month; and that of "Donatus Magongiall" on the 15th of the same, which may be a misprint for the 25th; if one may guess it to be probable that they were all promoted on the same day. (Vid. Labbe & Coss. Concil. T. XIV. col. 931, et marg. *ibid.* De Burgo *Hib. Dom.* p. 104, and H. 588)

But it is certain from inspection of the list of prelates given in the preceding article, that the lawful bishop of Ross, in the year 1560, was one of those who were present in the parliament holden in Dublin that year, and who gave their sanction to the legal establishment of the reformed religion in this country.

Billslop.

CORNELIUS O'DEA, 1546—1555 was appointed by Henry VIII.

TERENCE O'BRIEN succeeded in the reign of Q. Mary, and governed the see until the end of 1566. How long after is unknown.

MAURICE O'BRIEN (or Morlertach, or Morgan O'Brien Arra) was appointed by Q. Elizabeth in 1572. After receiving the profits of his see for six years without consecration, he was at last consecrated, and sat about 36 years after. He died in 1613, having voluntarily resigned his bishopric about a year before (H. 596)

"See a letter written by him before his consecration (the 24th of Oct. 1572) to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, concerning Malachy O'Molana, who was labouring to obtain the same bishopric, and for that purpose had recanted the errors of Popery, and submitted to the Queen, 28th of February, 1572. This Malachy styles himself, *quondam Ardachaden. Episcopus Hibernus*, and the object of O'Brien's letter is to shew that his recantation and submission were insincere. Strype's *Life of Abp. Parker*, App. B. 4, Nos. LXXXVII. and LXXXIII." (MS. n. ib.)

The name of O'Molana does not however occur among those of the bishops of Ardagh mentioned by Ware; in whose list the order of succession of the bps. pre-

ceding P. Mac Mahon above-named is as follows :—Owen, Donn. friar, by provn. of Pope Jul. II., succ. 1508, sed 1530; how much longer is unknown. Rd. Ferral, succ. 1541, ob. 1553; consecd. by commission from Geo. Cromer (then infirm.) Patk. Mac Mahon then succeeded, ut sup. (See Ardagh) .. (H. 255)

It appears that "in 1518, Sir Rory O'Moloyne, a priest of y^e diocese of Clonmacnoise, a pretended bp. elect of Ardagh, was cited to shew cause, why he took upon him to exercise y^e authority of bishop of y^e said see, and for non-appearance before y^e metropolitan court of Armagh, was decreed contumacious, suspended, and upon previous admonition to be excommunicated. He was afterwards reconciled, and received the subcustodium of this bishopric [of Ardagh] from the vicar-general of Armagh, and agreed with him for y^e fees of y^e court." (MS. n. in H. 255)

Tuam.

CHRISTOPHER BODEKEN (*als.* Bodkyn) was consecrated Bp. of Kilmacduagh at Marseilles in France, and translated by favour of Henry VIII. to the atbp. of Tuam in 1536. He died at Tuam full of days in 1572 .. (H. 615)

The *Four Masters* thus notice his death, A.D. 1572, "The Archbishop of Tuam, Christopher Bokdin, died, and was interred at Galway."

Kilfenora.

MAURICE O'BRIEN succeeded by papal provision in 1491. A MAURICE was also bp. in 1523; whether the same Maurice, is not certain. JOHN O'HIN-ALAN was bp. in 1552. One JOHN was also bp. in 1570. One "DANIEL" in 1585 .. (H. 624)

The *Four Masters*, at A.D. 1572, have this notice. "The bishop of Kilfenora, (John Oge, the son of John, son of Auliffe O'Niallain [Neylan,] teacher of the Word of God, died, and was interred in Kilfenora itself."—O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, p. 1657.

Elphin.

CONAT O'SIAGAL, chaplain to Manus O'Donel, was advanced by Henry VIII. in 1544. BERNARD O'HIGGIN, a Dominican friar, succeeded by pope's provision, and was alive in 1552.. (H. 633)

ROLAND DE BURGO, bp. of Clonfert, took the administration by grant of Edward VI. in 1552, and died very old in 1580 .. (H. 634)

Clonfert.

RICHARD NANGLE, 1536, was promoted by Henry VIII., having been Provincial of the Augustin Hermits in Ireland. He was a great sufferer by Roland

de Burgo, whom Pope Clement [read Paul?] the Seventh had by his provn. nominated to Clonfert in 1534.

ROLAND DE BURGO, though appointed by the pope, yet having submitted and sworn fealty to K. Henry VIII. (whether after Nangle's death, is uncertain,) the pope's bull having been first cancelled, obtained the royal assent in October, 1541. While he governed this see, King Henry united the possessions of the dissolved abbey of Clonfert to the bishopric. The monastery had not surrendered, and Bp. Burgh had much difficulty to secure the abbey revenues. It was agreed (about the 10th of Elizabeth, A.D. 1568,) that the pope's grantee abbot and he should share the spiritualties and temporalities. After the death of the latter in 1571, the bishop had all, and his son Redmund Burgh after him was allowed half the spiritualties and temporalities by the next bp., STEPHEN KEROVAN, 1582; Kerovan was of Galway, but educated at Oxford and Paris. He conformed in 1572 (H. 642)

The *Four Masters*, at A.D. 1580, have this entry—"Roland, the son of Redmond, son of Ullick [Burke,] of Knocktus, Bishop of Clonfert, died; and the loss of this good man was the cause of great lamentation in his own country."—O'Donovan, 1729. (See also under *Elphin* above.)

Again, at A.D. 1593, p. 1991, we read that the insurgent chiefs in league with O'Donnell, from Connaught, &c., "plundered and totally devastated Clonfert Brendan, and took the bishop of that town prisoner," [i. e. Stephen Kerovan, bp. of Clonfert, 1582—1602, as O'D. observes in the note on this passage.]

We find in the *State Papers*, (vol. iii. pt. iii. p. 127,) a letter from Archbishop Browne of Dublin to the Lord Privy Seal [Cromwell,] in which are contained some interesting particulars relative to Bishop Nangle and his antagonist Burgh, or Mac William, (as this family name is expressed among the Irish.) Of this letter the following is an extract comprising the particulars in question, and forming the concluding paragraph of the communication in which it occurs. It was written about the 15th of February, 1639, i. e. about a week after the date of the letter quoted at pp. 701, 702, of this work.

"At such season as your lordship's pleasure shall be to send hither authority *ad causas ecclesiasticas*, God willing, I intend to travel the country, as far as any English is to be understood; and where as I may not be understood, I have provided a suffragan, named Doctor Nangle, bishop of Clonfert, who is not only well learned, but also a right honest man, and undoubtedly will set forth as well the Word of God as our prince's causes, in the Irish tongue, to the discharge, I trust, of my conscience. Which said bishop was promoted to the said benefice by the king's majesty and you; and by commandment of the king's highness, and your good lordship, by me consecrated; although as now he is expelled, and a Rome runner, who came in by provision, supported in the same by one Mac William, a naughty traitorous person, governor of those parts, to whom the said Dr. Nangle, my suffragan, showed the king's broad seal, for justifying of his authority, which the said Mac William little esteemed, but threw it away and vilipended the same."

The governor would seem from his name to have been kinsman to the "Rome runner."

Kilmardunagh.

BODEKIN, consecrated in 1533 or, 4, held this see along with that of Tuam; as did his successor LEALY or LALY. Stephen Kerovan, afterwards Bishop of Clonfert, obtained it in 1573 (H. 642, 648)

Killalea.

REDMUND GALLAGHER sat, it seems, in 1549. OWEN O'CONNOR, Dean of Achonry, appointed by Elizabeth in 1591, occupied the see for about sixteen years (H. 652)

Whoever was bishop of this see in the year 1560, he was one of those who joined in establishing the reformed religion by law in the parliament of that year, as appears from his name being included in the list given in the preceding article.

It seems not possible that the above could be the Redmund Gallagher who was killed in Derry in 1601; for then he must have been 52 years a bishop; and as Gallagher of Derry is said to have died at the age of 70, he could hardly have been a bishop so long; as he must in that case have been consecrated in his 18th year.

Achonry.

One "CORMAC" was bishop here in 1523. One "EUGENE" in 1585. Some think that it was this Eugene who assisted at the Council of Trent in 1563; that he was promoted in 1562, and died *æt.* 100 in 1603 [?] .. (H. 660 ult.)

Whether any Irish prelates resigned on Q. Elizabeth's accession.

A careful inspection of the preceding notices will assist us in answering a question raised not long since, as to "whether any of the Irish bishops resigned their sees on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, or the introduction of the reformed religion with the sanction of her authority." Before entering into the inquiry more particularly, it may be well to quote here the statements of two writers, who have supposed that, in two particular cases, instances of such resignation did occur.

And first the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, Statement of Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval. in his *Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession*, has the following observation :—

“ At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, of all the Irish bishops only two were deprived, and two others resigned on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the see of Rome. The rest continued in their sees, and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders.”

Who those two bishops that resigned their places were, Mr. Perceval does not specify ; but the omission appears to be supplied in the following passage extracted from a note in Mr. Dodsworth's little volume of “ *Discourses on Romanism and Dissent*,” (3rd Edn., Lond., Burns. 1839. No. viii. p. 8,) in which it occurs as part of a quotation from another recent tract, entitled *Historical notices of Peculiar Tenets of the Church of Rome* (p. 6).—

Mr. Dodsworth's remark on the same point noticed.

“ By the records of the Irish Church, it appears, that when in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Roman jurisdiction was renounced, of all the Irish bishops, only two, namely Walsh, bishop of Clonard [or Meath], and Liversous, [Leverous] bishop of Kildare, suffered deprivation for their refusal to join in that renunciation. Two others, Lacey, bishop of Limerick, and Skiddy bishop of Cork and Cloyne, resigned, the former in 1566, [read, 1571] and the latter in 1751, [*sic* ; for which read, 1566] possibly from scruples on the same score.”

But where these two resignations were made

These two
Statements
considered.

so many years after the queen's accession, and the legal establishment of the reformed religion, although the causes of them be not assigned, it is hardly reasonable to suppose them likely to have had any connection with matters that had been transacted so very long before. With regard to Bp. Skiddy indeed, it appears not probable that he should have had much scruple about submitting to the regal supremacy, the great point then disputed, inasmuch as he had previously accepted the deanry of Limerick from Edward VI. ; and although appointed to the sees of Cork and Cloyne by Queen Mary, he had not been put by her into real possession, but had subsequently received a new grant, and his investiture, from Q. Elizabeth, and was actually consecrated by her mandate. "Under these circumstances" (as Bp. Mant observes, *Hist.* I. 745) "the supposed motive for resignation were strange indeed." As for the resignation of Q. Mary's intruder, Lacy, of Limerick, it but left an open for the lawful prelate, Casey, to resume the duties interrupted by his unrighteous deprivation.

Mr. Perceval's assertion confessedly a mistake.

I am aware that Mr. Perceval, subsequently to his writing the sentence above quoted, has been led to see the mistake into which he had fallen on this point : but for the sake of others who might have less information or candour, the matter contained in the present article will, it is

hoped, be found useful for setting the entire subject in a more clear and unambiguous light than that in which it has hitherto for the most part been regarded.

On the renunciation of his authority and supremacy by the lawful bishops of Ireland in 1560, the pope of course, as has been already stated, appointed other prelates from time to time, to the titles of different sees in Ireland; until at length some sort of regular succession, on a new foundation, was established in each, and every bishopric began to have its titular prelate. Of these worthies the reader will find some further notices in the articles which follow; and especially in that which comes next in order, Nos. 65-68, inf., No. 55, &c.

A titular hierarchy gradually set up in all quarters.

The bishops of the Irish Church in those days were not, it must be confessed, in all cases, very high-minded or exemplary characters, or such as a candid historical writer can describe with feelings of satisfaction. The worldliness and servility of their spirit is in many instances a matter established by only too plain evidence. Too many of them were a discredit, rather than a strength, to the cause of the Reformation. Of John Lynch, bishop of Elphin, for instance, who succeeded on the death of Thomas Chester in 1583, we are told, that after having reduced the value of the see, by alienations and other corruptions, to an

Character of the prelates who lived in the age referred to in this Article.

income of 200 marks per annum, he resigned his post, and died "a public papist" in 1611. And Bishop Bramhall complains, in 1633, of "the ugly oppressions of that wicked bishop Melerus," viz. Miler Magrath, who departed this life at the advanced age of 100 years, in December, 1622, and who also is said to have died a Romanist. He governed the see of Cashel "for 52 years and three months, during which time he made most scandalous wastes and alienations of the revenues and manors belonging to it." And so in other cases, as that of Ferns above, &c. p. 1214. But such offences of these men could not annul their authority, nor transfer it to others; nor are the effects of the Reformation to be judged of, nor its genuine fruits expected, from persons *born and bred in the bosom of the Church of Rome*.*

No. XXVI.

OF RICHARD CREAGH, AND HIS SUCCESSORS THE TITULAR PRIMATES
OF ARMAGH, &c.

Romish authors not luminous on this topic.

It is to be regretted that the members of the modern Hiberno-Romish communion have done

* *Strafford's Letters*, 172. *Harris's Wars*, in the *Archbishops of Cashel*. O'Sullivan *Hist. Cath. Ib.*, fol. 92, and Mr. Brennan's *Ec. Hist.* ii. 111-116, where any reader particularly interested about Melerus, will find his life and death largely discoursed upon.

but little in their publications to throw any light of learned research on the origin, history, or succession of their new hierarchy. For the subject, although certainly not a very advantageous one for them to enter much into, is by no means unworthy of the careful attention of all who take an interest in the history or welfare of the Irish Church. The only works by any Irish members of the Church of Rome which I have been able to meet with on this subject, or treating of it even partially, are these :—

1. Mr. Dalton's account of the Bishops and Archbishops of *Dublin*; in which, after giving the lives of the prelates in the true and legitimate succession of that see, from Donatus in the 11th century, to Archbishop Whately, its present occupant, he subjoins an enumeration of the titular archbishops of the same diocese, commencing with Matthew de Oviedo.

Mention of some works in which intelligence can be had regarding it.

2. Mr. Brennan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, in which is contained a history of the Church of Rome in Ireland, subsequently to the date of the Reformation, forming the latter part of the work, with notices of the titular prelates of Ireland, and of those of Armagh in particular, continued to the present age.

And 3rdly, The *Complete Catholic Directory*, in which we find a unique attempt to set forth, in a tabular view, the pretended succession

Mr. Stuart's
contribu-
tions to the
study.

of the modern Romish Church in Ireland. For more on the Synopsis alluded to, see No. 68, *infra*.

Mr. Stuart however, author of the valuable "*Historical Memoirs of the city of Armagh*," and a protestant writer, has furnished us with much fuller and more satisfactory information concerning the titular prelates of the diocese with which his book is more immediately connected. And to his useful work we are indebted (as will appear from the references) for the subjoined notices of the bishops in this series who came after Creagh, commencing with E. MacGauvran. In the same work Mr. Stuart refers* to an "*Appendix to the Life of St. Patrick* (p. 319) *edit. Dub., by H. Fitzpatrick, A.D. 1810*," as containing "the only printed list of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Armagh" which he had ever seen.

Some infor-
mation as to
Derry
diocese in
the Ord-
nance Me-
moir.

In the excellent *Ordinance Memoir* of the History and Antiquities of the city of Londonderry is contained a brief, but not uninteresting, account of the Romish intruders into that see, from the time of Terence O'Donelly, (about A.D. 1720) the first Romish prelate whose name is recorded in

* Ch. 20, p. 352. See "the *Life of S. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, to which is added *Saint Fiech's Irish Hymn*, also a copious appendix of the various ecclesiastical institutions, &c. in Ireland. By P. Lynch, Secretary to the Gaelic Society. Dublin: Printed by T. Haydock and Son, 8, Lower Exchange-street, next door to the Chapel, 1828. Entered at Stationers' Hall, 12mo. pp. 328." Fitzpatrick's work above cited seems to have been an Edition of this work of Lynch's, published in 1810.

connection with it subsequently to the accession of King James in A.D. 1603.

SUCCESSION OF TITULAR PRELATES IN THE SEE OF ARMAUGH, SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE REFORMATION OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

[ROBERT WAUCOP, called also *Venentius*, might in a sense be regarded as the first of these personages, having been appointed by the pope, and received by a so called general council for primate of Ireland. But as he was entirely rejected by the Irish Romanists, and as moreover the lawful prelates of Ireland had not finally cast off the Roman yoke in his day, it seems that we shall be more correct in regarding Richard Creagh, the first papal claimant of the primacy of this island after the Reformation under Elizabeth, as the proper apostle and tutelary saint, the modern Patrick, of the new Roman communion in Ireland. Waucop however, as being a kind of precursor of the system, and at least a candidate, in the papal interest, for the office, should not be wholly omitted from this catalogue; in which accordingly we may add one or two particulars concerning him to those already noticed in the text of this work.

It appears that it was prior to his appointment to the titular primacy that he had, under the patronage of Pope Paul III., introduced the order of Jesuits into Ireland. This service, performed by him in A.D. 1541, must no doubt have been a strong recommendation in his favour, to procure him so high a rank among the friends and supporters of the Romish cause in this country.*

In Lent, 1545, we find Waucop holding private communication, in Donegal, with the French ambassador to Scotland, O'Neill, O'Dogherty, and others, relative to the invasion of Ireland, and throwing off the English yoke. While on a visit with O'Dogherty "the ambassador met in secret with O'Neill and his associates, and heard their offers and overtures. And the Patriarch of Ireland did meet him there, who was a Scotchman born, called Waucop, and was blind of both his eyes, and yet had been divers times at Rome, by his post. He did great honour to the ambassador," took him to see St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, &c.†

* Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 235.
 † Sir J. Melville's *Memoires*, pages 8 and 9. Lond. 1683. De Falkirk's *Annals of Irish Popery* No. II. p. 15.

His equestrian powers.

Mr. Stuart is at a loss to conceive how a blind ecclesiastic should have been so laboriously occupied, and at such severe and hazardous exercise as Waucop must have been engaged in, to become famous for riding post better than any man in Christendom. But the circumstance noted in the text, if there correctly stated, viz., that Waucop was rather very short sighted than quite blind, will help to remove the difficulty.

His dying words, A.D. 1551.

His death took place at Paris on the 10th of November, A.D. 1551,* and his last words, if we may therein believe O'Sullivan, were these:

"Lord, if my existence here be necessary for the good of thy people, I will not shrink from the useful task which I ought to perform. If not, I shall willingly yield up my station in this most laborious life, that my spirit may enjoy beatitude in thy presence."

Abp. Mac Mahon's confusion of the dates connected with R. W.

The famous and learned Mac Mahon, titular archbp. of Armagh, seems to have been aware of the damage which the true story of his predecessor Waucop was calculated to do to their cause. In his celebrated work *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, c. 27, in giving a list of some of their primates, he says, "DOWDALLO Pauli Tertii concessionem successit in sede Armachana (qui concilio Tridentino interfuit, ibique a patribus agnitus et declaratus hujus regni primas, Vide superius 10.) ROBERTUS VENANTIUS." Waucop's recognition at Trent was of too much importance to this author's argument to allow of his neglecting the point; and yet the assertion that the same Waucop succeeded to Dowdall, shows how the author of the *Jus Primatiale* felt the difficulty in which the matter was involved. How could he succeed to Dowdall, a man who died some seven years after himself. No wonder is it that the Irish Romanists have been slow to furnish us with an account of their succession of Primates. Here one of those very primates, and the one of whose learning they are most justly proud, could not give a short list of some of his own predecessors, without a most outrageous violation of historical truth, contradicting all the historians and records of the Council of Trent.]

Memoirs of Rd. Creagh, first papal primate after the Reformation, A.D. 1564.

1. RICHARD CREAGH, the first papal primate subsequently to the establishment of the Reformation in Ireland, succeeded, or rather was appointed, to the titular dignity, (as appears from the text at p. 773, sup. and notes there,) in or about A.D. 1564; having been consecrated, it would seem, by Pope Pius IV. (not V, as stated in Rothe's *Analecta*) some five or six years after the death of Abp. Dowdall. There appears indeed to be some authority (as will be seen presently)

* Stewart's *Armagh*, 226, and O'Sullivan, H. C. pp. 79, 80. Spandani, Ann. ad an. 1546. Palavicino, *Hist. Conc. Trident.* l. 6, c. 5; l. 15, c. 13. Pere Orleans, l. 3, p. 85. *Jus. Prim. Arm.*, pp. 7, 19, referred to by Stuart in *loc. cit.*

for assigning as the exact date of his consecration, April 24, 1564. The following brief memoir will supply a somewhat fuller and more satisfactory account of this remarkable individual than could have been conveniently introduced in the body of this work.

Richard Creagh was, according to our authors, the son of a very respectable merchant of Limerick, named Nicholas Creagh, by his wife Joanna White. Having acquired in his native place the first rudiments of literature, and a taste for scriptural knowledge, on his arrival at years of maturity, he traded as a general merchant to and from Spain. On one occasion, having disposed of a quantity of goods which he had brought to that country, he shipped various other commodities as a venture to Ireland. "And now the appointed day for sailing had arrived, the wind was favourable, and the passengers, merchants, and seamen were hurrying on board. Creagh however, who had determined to solicit the blessing of Almighty God on his undertaking, told his companions that he deemed it necessary to attend the solemnisation of mass, before he could go on board, but that as soon as he should have effected this pious object, he would instantly embark. His companions however left him whilst he was attending the celebration of divine service, and having weighed anchor hoisted sail. Creagh saw the vessel in motion, and called to them from the shore—in vain; for by a sudden gust of wind, or by some mismanagement of the crew, the ship was instantly buried in the sea, and every one on board perished. Creagh, thus providentially saved from death, returned thanks to God for his escape, and determined to adopt a mode of life less perilous to the body, and more salutary to the soul."^{*} He now addicted himself entirely to literature, and having gone to Belgium, and graduated A.M. in the University of Louvain, and afterwards B.D., he subsequently returned to Ireland in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being then in priest's orders: and opened a school in Limerick, where he earnestly made use of every exertion to advance the principles of the Romish faith.

How long he employed himself in this way does not particularly appear: but we are informed that *after the lapse of some time*,† whether wearying of scholastic toils, or desiring further self improvement, or wishing to lead a stricter life, he betook himself to the Continent of Europe, and visited Rome, "where being known and welcomed by the supreme pontiff, Pius V.,‡ he was prohibited from devoting himself to

His birth, education, and early life.

Providential escape from shipwreck.

He becomes an ecclesiastic and schoolmaster.

His visit to Rome,

^{*} Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 249. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, t. 2, l. 4, c. 10. Burke, *Hib. Dom.* 601. Ware's *Writers*, 97. Jus. Prim. *Armac.* c. 27.

† Vid. Rothe's *Analecta*, &c. [*Anastrephomena*?] *de Richardi Creaghi Arch. Episc. Armach. vita notationes*, pp. 9, 10. Ed. Colon. 1619,

‡ *i.e.* according to Rothe, from whom this passage is extracted.

and promo-
to the titu-
lar primacy.

He comes
back to Ire-
land, and is
put in pri-
son ;

but makes
his escape,

and flees
beyond seas.

He returns
to Ireland, is
again taken,
tried for
high trea-
son, and
imprisoned
in the Tow-
er of Lon-
don :

the monastic profession, which he had in view, until he should receive some further intimations concerning the wishes of the Most Holy Lord [the Pope.] Meanwhile his holiness, although the other was unconscious of it, was already conceiving a plan for sending him back into Ireland, to be either a buckler to the faith, or a solace to the sorrows, of the Catholics therein resident. And in order to provoke him to the more abundant industry and zeal in behalf of religion, he determined to consecrate him archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland. For that see was then lying vacant, in consequence of the death of his predecessor the most illustrious and most reverend George Dowdall, whose demise took place within a few days of that of the renowned Queen Mary, and that also of Cardinal Pole, having occurred in England, whither he had repaired for the purpose of arranging certain matters connected with his Church.

"After his consecration, (for neither the dangers of such an expedition, although they were intimated to him, nor the difficulty of effecting an entrance into the country, nor the calamities which it was then suffering, nor the miseries of the Catholics who lived there, could influence his mind to have recourse to any subterfuges in order to avoid the burden,) filled with the Spirit from heaven, he ploughed across the ocean, and left behind him the storms of the sea, to encounter storms yet more serious upon the land."^{*} For on his return to Ireland he was immediately apprehended and put into prison. "After his disembarkation, when he had accomplished a few days' journey, he was taken captive by his adversaries of the contrary persuasion, men who were downright infidels, and brought to Dublin and cast into prison ; but from thence after having lain for some time in chains, he effected an escape in company with his gaoler . . .

"Having thus gotten loose from his bonds, he made away with himself beyond seas, in order to obtain a little time for taking breath among the [R] Catholics, and to prepare himself for fresh struggles. As soon therefore as he had in some little degree recruited his faculties, an intimation having been conveyed to him relative to the wishes of his most holy lord, [the pope,] he now returned a second time as primate : and setting himself to attend to the oversight of his flock, he is once more apprehended by the faithless enemy, and brought before the viceroy and council in Dublin."[†] He was now tried for high treason and breaking his prison : but the jury, after having been shut up for some days, could not agree in a verdict ; for which misdemeanour they were imprisoned and fined. Creagh himself was sent over to London, and there immured in a dark cell, in which however he managed from the fat of the meat which was given to him, to make a lamp that afforded light sufficient to enable him to recite his breviary.

* Rothe, ut sup.

† *ib.* p. 11.

"From this den he was at length removed into a more spacious and lightsome apartment in the same tower ;"* from which he managed to escape in some extraordinary manner, as described by a Jesuit named James Navarchus, who is said to have had it from Creagh himself, and whose account of the matter, dated *Kal. Oct. 1565*, is published by Rothe in his *Analecta*. "A little bird which supplied at once a favourable omen and also a suggestion for his escape, was the means of extricating the imprisoned sufferer from his captivity."† Of the letter of Navarchus, more presently.

but again makes his escape, in a manner

"The bishop therefore effected his escape from the tower, and that in such an extraordinary manner, that a great sensation of astonishment seized upon all who knew even the position of the place . . . and they were eagerly desirous to have from himself a true and correct recital of the method and plan of his delivery.

astonishing to his friends.

"Among others, the most illustrious Thomas Goldwell, bp. of St. Asaph's, (who was staying at Milan when he [Creagh] came to Louvain after his escape from London,) sent him a letter of the following purport, partly congratulating him on his fortunate escape, and partly requesting him to furnish an account of the manner of his liberation.

Letter from Bp. Goldwell to Creagh on this occasion, June 20, 1565,

"Copy of the Letter of the Bp. of St. Asaph's to the Primate : translated from the English Autograph.

"Most illustrious and reverend lord : as I was greatly concerned at learning that your Grace, after having arrived in Ireland, had been traitorously apprehended and cast into the tower of London ; so was I exceedingly delighted to hear of your having escaped, miraculously as it seems, from thence to Louvain, and that you are there on a visit with your friend and mine, our Master Michaelis ; who, I doubt not, was greatly delighted by your arrival thither, as I myself was at your delivery from prison. And when your most illustrious lordship shall have leisure, you will confer on me a very great gratification by condescending to write me a detailed account of your escape. For when I first received the news of it, the matter appeared to me so astonishing, that it seemed like the vision which appeared to St. Peter, when the angel brought him out of prison. In whatever way it has occurred, to God be the praise, for that it hath pleased Him to watch over His servant : to whose divine protection I commend your most illustrious Grace, as I do myself to your prayers.

congratulating Creagh, and inquiring about the manner of his deliverance.

"And as there is a report among us here that a certain English father of the Soc. Jes. had accompanied your lordship into Ireland, there be some in this place who are exceedingly anxious to know what has

* *ib.* p. 15.

† p. 16, *ib.*

beside him. There is living in this city a very worthy man from Ireland, named Maurice, a Jesuit, who was greatly pleased at learning that you had effected your escape. Would your most reverend Lordship be pleased to salute in my name our reverend master Michaelis, your host. With these I desire your grace's welfare and happiness.

" Milan : the 30th day of June anno 1563.

" To your most illustrious lordship,

" Yr. unworthy brother and Servt.

" T. O. Bp. St. Asaph's."

Creagh again returns to Ireland, and is again imprisoned.

" What answer the primate returned to this letter is not recorded."

Creagh now returned once more to Ireland, while the rebellion of Shane O'Neill was raging in the north, and accordingly before June 1567, in which that chieftain was killed.* But he was again appre-

* Rothe ii. 28. The scarcity of books, and difficulty of making references to authorities in a remote rural district, has obliged me in a few instances, to depend on the statements of writers professing to use the original authorities, always taking care to verify such references afterwards. And although, in handling an author whose correctness of quotation is so little to be depended on as Mr. Phelan's, I have used for the most part much caution, and comparison with such collateral authorities as were available, still I find that in the case of one passage from *Rothe's Analecta*, relative to Creagh's dispute with Shane O'Neill, given, as quoted from Phelan, at p. 766, I have been led into a citing of testimony in a corrupted form; the best apology for which is to give here the correct version of the passage as it stands in *Rothe's Analecta*, Colon. 1617, p. 447—which is as follows :—

" But lo ! the Lord passeth by ! Already had the great and strong wind gone before, overthrowing the mountains, and breaking the rocks in pieces : this was what happened in the case of that famous Dynast, John O'Neill, in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, who overran and wasted all before him like a raging tempest, sparing neither mountains, rocks, nor hills ; but introducing confusion into all the ordinances of God and man, stained his hands with a brother's blood ; and having demolished in part the Church of Armagh, and incurred (as it is said) the indignation of the prelate Creagh, a great assessor of ecclesiastical privileges, after many slaughters which he committed, aided by captains whom he had invited out of Connaught and Munster, and admitted to a share in his plans, in fine, after numberless reproaches and scandals in which he became involved, though he would have himself accounted as the champion of the liberty of his country, and of the religion of his forefathers, not being of the number of those by whom salvation was wrought in Israel, as he sowed the winds, he reaped nought save only the whirlwind."

headed and sent to the tower of London. "O'Sullivan asserts that he was fettered and that various efforts were made both by means of threats and of proffered rewards, to induce him to change his religion, but that he remained steadfast in his original faith. He adds that the archbishop was falsely accused of having attempted to deflower the daughter of his gaoler. The day of trial came on, and Creagh was arraigned in a crowded court. His accuser, an elegant and beautiful girl, came forward to give evidence against him. But when she looked steadily on the countenance of this innocent and injured man, a sudden pang of remorse seized her soul. She became conscience stricken, and unable to bear the false evidence against him, which she had previously meditated.—'Vox faucibus haurit.' At last, when she had recovered the powers of utterance, she declared that she had never seen a man of more pure and holy life, that he had neither violated her person, nor even touched the hem of her garment. The archbishop, thus honorably acquitted, was brought back a prisoner to the tower, where in a few days he expired, A.D. 1585," Oct. 14; poison having been put, as it is said, into his food, by an undergaoler named Culligius. According to Stanishurst he spent the best part of his [ministerial?] life in the castle of Dublin and in the tower of London.

A charge of immorality alleged against him,

is publicly retracted.

His death, A.D. 1585.

As to the date of Creagh's consecration, the letter of James Navarchus, the Jesuit above mentioned, supplies us with certain particulars from which it may with some probability be inferred. The entire letter would be too long for insertion here; but the following extracts from it, which contain the particulars referred to, will suffice for our present purpose.*

Date of Creagh's consecration.

[Richard Creagh] "then, having received his commission from Rome, set out, not without having experienced the most liberal munificence on the part of the supreme pontiff Pius, to rescue his sheep from the jaws of these ferocious wolves, and from the fury of the lioness, [i. e. Queen Elizabeth] and to discharge his pastoral office among them with zeal and piety. Having arrived in the island, he celebrated the sacrifice of the mass in some monastery belonging to his province . . . The prelate is apprehended . . . brought before the queen, and pressed with many queries in the court of Westminster, where the monarchs of England spend much of their time. When he had made satisfactory replies, for a length of time, to the objections of all his examiners, and given them in modest style a good account of the grounds of our faith, he is led for a show, between two constables, through almost the whole city of London, furnishing all the spectators with occasion of derision and contempt, as a consequence of his steadfastness in the faith of

J. Navarchus describes Creagh's apprehension and imprisonment, A.D. 1564

* The original is to be found in Rothe's *Analecta*, vol. 2. *De Processu Martyrii quorundam fidei pugitum in Hibernia, &c.* pp. 20—34. Colon. 1619.

Christ. Then without trial or condemnation, he is immured in a dark, deep, dreary, dungeon, named the tower, (*this was on the very day of St. Peter's Chair*) from which he was at length allowed to come up to a more spacious and lightsome apartment. For some who had a respect for justice and law, from having had some little intercourse with good men, urged that it was not consistent with equity, that one, whose cause had not been brought to a trial, should be so inhumanly treated, and compelled to drag on a wretched existence in such a dark and confined nook as he was forced to occupy.

and how a
hope of es-
cape occurs
to his mind ;

"While the prelate . . . is undergoing these afflictions, God . . . inspired him with a sure hope of deliverance . . . on that very day of St. Peter, named after his chair . . . He, continuing instant in prayer, on the *third day after*, which was the *Lord's day*, began to recite the office of the mass from memory, as carefully as he could, in his prison chamber . . . [at this time] . . . he was expecting . . . that he should ere long be offered up for Christ's sake as a sacrifice in defence of the faith. *He was also looking forward to the coming of those that were to institute an inquiry into his faith and life, who were to come to him, as he had been made aware, on the very day of St. Patrick, the patron of Ireland, his own first predecessor, and founder of the cathedral church of Armagh . . . Having been examined on the said day, and presently again on the fourth day after, he learns from the governor of the tower that the business of investigating his case had been committed to certain individuals. . . . And now [after he had been frequently and on various occasions tempted by divers persons to change his faith] the fifth week from his imprisonment had passed away, closing in Passion Week,* when a thought suggests itself to him, I know not how, unless by divine inspiration, relative to the possibility of making his escape. . . . [A little bird, in some odd way, was the means of originating the notion in his mind. 'On the third day after this,' he thought he saw various strange visions, the ghosts of persons on whom he had bestowed indulgences out of the stock supplied to him by the pope, 'on Easter day itself, and the day following.' Next day he escapes; spends three days in London, walking the streets, &c., and at length gets a passage to France among certain Protestants, and arrives safe in Brabant.]*

which he
manages to
realize.

"It is not unworthy of consideration," adds Navarchus, "what I may here subjoin, that he underwent an examination at Rome, somewhere about the feast of St. Patrick, when he was about to be elected to the episcopate. Afterwards when a year had elapsed, he was on the same St. Patrick's day, subjected to a diversified and scrutinising examination, as a confessor of the faith of Christ at London. And

* Jam quinta ab incarceratione hebdomada effluerat, quæ infra octavam Paschæ incidit.

that he made his escape out of prison, and regained his liberty *on the* return, after the lapse of a year, of the very same *day on which he had been consecrated bishop*. . . . &c." Lovan. Cal. Oct. 1565.

Rothe immediately goes on to say that "after an interval of *some* Examination of the
time" Creagh "returned again a third time into Ireland" as primate, ("the supreme pontiff urging on him that it was expedient so to do,") dates connected with
in the heat of Shane O'Neill's rebellion, &c. &c. connected with
this imprisonment.

Now bearing in mind that the Sunday letter for the year 1565 was G, and that the Festival of St. Peter's Chair above mentioned falls on the 22nd of February, and that Easter Sunday in the same year happened on the 22nd of April, it would appear from the above letter of Navarchus, that Creagh, after having being sent over from Ireland, was interrogated at Westminster and committed to the tower of London on February 22nd (in the end of 1564, O. S.) On St. Patrick's day, March 17th following, being a Saturday, and on the Wednesday (March 21,) next after it, his case was further inquired into. On Easter Tuesday, April 24th, 1565, he made his escape from prison, which being the anniversary of his admission to the episcopal office, it would follow that he must have been consecrated at Rome by pope Paul IV. on the 24th of April, 1564: unless the anniversary day in the letter of Navarchus refer to *Easter Tuesday*, rather than to the day of the month, in which case his consecration would have taken place on April 4th, 1564, Easter Sunday having occurred on April 2, in that year. This may seem the more probable, if we suppose that the day chosen would have been a Sunday or holiday. For the 24th of April, 1564, was neither, but a plain Monday, although the very next day was the feast of St. Mark.

If these inferences be at all correct, then the dates connected with Probable ar-
the appointments, &c. to the see of Armagh about this period will be rangement
these. Dowdall died on the 15th of August, 1558. Loftus was conse- of them;
crated on March 2, 1563; and Creagh a month later, on April 4, 1564.

But a difficulty still remains. How could the fifth week from not however
Creagh's imprisonment end in Passion Week of that year, when clear from
February 22 to April 22 are more than eight weeks? The only reply all difficulty.
is, that there is plainly some mistake in the letter, which will only be
increased by any other supposition, (such as that of a different year,*
or the like,) which can, as far as I see, be suggested.

* For instance, in February, 1564, the Dominical letter being then B, "*the third day after St. Peter's chair*," would not be the Lord's day. Otherwise, the "5 weeks" mentioned by Navarchus correspond sufficiently with the order of days in this year.

Statement
of Mr. Stuart
on this
point.

Mr. Stuart, referring to the part of Rothe's work now under consideration, says, that, "Dr. Creagh had been imprisoned in the Tower of London, A.D. 1665, from whence he was liberated after five weeks confinement, on St. Patrick's festival, being the anniversary day of his consecration at Rome." This appears to be plainly at variance with the letter above quoted, and entirely unsatisfactory.

Creagh's
writings.

Richard Creagh was the author, we are told, of many learned works, including a treatise "*De lingua Hibernica*," a "*Chronicon Hiberniae*," and sundry others. He was also very exertive in advancing the mission of the Jesuits in Ireland, commenced by his precursor Waucop.*

Whether he
was asked to
consecrate
Parker, &c.?

If we might believe the statement of the Jesuit Fitz Symonds, in his *Britannomachia*,† published in 1614, it would appear, that presently after the accession of Q. Elizabeth, when arrangements were in progress for the consecration of the Protestant bishops, newly appointed to various English sees, application was made to a certain Irish archbishop then confined in the Tower of London, offering him his liberty and other benefits, on condition that he should undertake the consecration of Parker and his fellows; which however the imprisoned prelate steadily refused to agree to, having an utter repugnance to laying his sacred hands on heretics, or being a partaker in other men's sins. "I have not ascertained," says Fitz Symonds, "(beyond a probable conjecture) whether this individual was the thrice illustrious martyr Creagh, primate of Armagh, who effected a miraculous escape from the tower of London in the reign of Elizabeth" and was long after again shut up there, and cut off by a poisoned piece of cheese. Undoubtedly it could have been no other person, if the story had any foundation in truth, as it is well known that none of the lawful archbishops of Ireland were then imprisoned in London. But as it seems certain that Creagh was neither bishop nor archbishop, but more probably a plain schoolmaster, when Parker was consecrated (on Dec. 17, 1559) so may we believe that this whole story, narrated by Fitz Symonds, is not more remarkable for strict adherence to truth than many others proceeding from authors of his class.

E. Mac
Gauvran,
SECOND
PRIMATE
of the new
succession.
A.D. 1594.

3. To Creagh succeeded in the titular dignity EDMUND MAC GAUVVRAN, who in the beginning of the year 1594 was appointed by the pope his envoy to the Irish Romanists, for the purpose of exciting them to take up arms in defence of their religion. He was also charged with a commission from King Philip II of Spain, to the Irish chieftains, to whom that monarch promised effectual aid in their wars against the English government. Mac Gauvran in the execution of these commissions visited the leading men of Ulster, but resided chiefly with Maguire, lord of Fermanagh. This chieftain not only refused to give

* Ware and Rothe, *ut sup.*

† Lib. 3, pars 5ta, pag. 320.

him up to the lord deputy Russel, but accompanied by him, invaded the province of Connaught in the early part of A.D. 1694. A corps of troops commanded by Sir W. Guefort having been sent against him, the two armies met at a place called *Sciath na fear*, (*Scutum miraculosum*) where, the day being dark and misty, the cavalry, which had preceded the foot, in total silence, met unexpectedly front to front. Maguire transixed Guefort with a spear, and slew him on the spot. And near to the place where the British commander fell, an impetuous encounter ensuing on both sides, Archbishop Mac Gaurran also met with his fate, and fell transixed with a horseman's spear.*

An agent of treason for Spain.

Meets with a warrior's fate.

8. PETER LOMBARD, his successor, was the son of a Waterford merchant, who gave him a most liberal education. He became at an early age a pupil of Westminster school, where under his preceptor, the celebrated antiquary Camden, he gave strong indications of talent, and made rapid advances in literature. Camden himself bears honourable testimony to his pupil's abilities, styling him "a youth of admirable docility," and boasting that he had converted him to the reformed religion, though he had been "popishly bred and affected."† But the effects produced on Lombard's mind by the controversial arguments of his learned preceptor were probably counteracted at Louvain, where he afterwards pursued his studies, and became D.D. He was then made provost of the Cathedral of Cambray in or before A.D. 1601,‡ and subsequently promoted by the pope to the title of the see of Armagh. At what time this appointment was made, it seems not easy to determine; but it must have been before June 1610, in which month Lombard gave a commission to D. Rothe, afterwards titular bishop of Ossory, to be his vicar general for all Ireland, he himself residing in Rome. Pleased with his literary attainments and religious zeal, his

Memoir of P. Lombard, THIRD primate of the new race in Ireland. A.D. 1608?

For a time a Protestant.

His foreign promotion.

* p. 619 sup. The *Four Masters* record, at A.D. 1593, that, on the side of the rebels, was "slain Edmond Magauran, [Titular] primate of Armagh, who accidentally happened to have been along with Maguire." Our more poetical writers, Rothe, &c., describe his death in their own way, thus;—that having taken refuge with Maguire, he was recognised by a government "itinerant satellite;" "and while engaged in receiving the confession of a dying man, he was mortally wounded, and died near Armagh, A.D. 1598." See Rothe, *Ana. Sac. in Processu Martyr*, p. 44. Mr. Brennan, *Ec. Hist.* II. 140, 221. O'Sullivan, *Hist. Cath.*, tom. II., lib. 2, cap. 6. Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 270. P. Lomb. *de Reg. Hib. Com.* p. 245. *Jus Prim. Armac.*, c. 27. De Burgh, *Hib. Dom.*, p. 602, (who follows Rothe's account.)

† Camden's Letter in Alkin's *Life of Usher*, p. 323, quoted by Stuart, p. 271.

‡ See the title of his book, *de Reg. Hib. Ware's Writers*, p. 108.

patron Clement VIII. gave also the strongest manifestations of his high esteem for Lombard, by nominating him his domestic prelate and assistant.

His work on
Ireland.

Lombard was the author of some theological works, the most famous of which is his *De Regno Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insula Commentarius*, which was republished after his decease at Louvain, in the year 1682, with a preface by the author addressed to his patron, Pope Clement. The work having excited the wrath of the British government, King James gave orders to the Lord Deputy Strafford to suppress it, and prosecute the writer. But the prelate had escaped the power of all earthly tribunals, having died previously at Rome, about A.D. 1626, or according to De Burgh (p. 628) in 1625. So long before as in May 1, 1614, King James had spoken of him in parliament as a nominal bishop and doctor, who had endeavoured to excite the youth of the country, educated in foreign colleges, to disturb the public peace.*

His death,
cir. A.D.
1625.

H. Mac
Caghwel,
FOURTH
primate
of the new
orders in
Ireland.
A.D. 1626.

4. The next titular primate was HUGH MAC CAGHWELL, said to have been a man of singular piety, humility, and learning; the latter of which is proved from several published works of his, that we need not here enumerate. One of them, a posthumous work, entitled "*the Mirror of Penitence*," was in the Irish language. Mac Caghwel studied at the university of Salamanca in Spain; became a Franciscan friar; was instrumental in founding a College (that of St. Anthony of Padua) in Louvain; was president of this institution for many years, and also divinity professor there, as well as at another College in Rome: until at length about A.D. 1626, the pope made him titular archbishop of Armagh. But after having made preparations for his journey to Ireland, and taken leave of his Italian friends, he was seized with sudden illness, and expired on the 22nd of September, 1626. His life was written by his intimate friend Patrick Fleming, a Franciscan friar.

Said to have
been suc-
ceeded by
P. Fleming.

In a printed list† of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, mentioned already in a preceding page, the name of Patrick Fleming is entered as that of Mac Caghwel's immediate successor. It seems however almost certain that no such individual ever occupied this post. Mac Caghwel on his death-bed had written to the pope, recommending Richard Chamberlain a native of Ulster, and lecturer in the Irish College at Louvain, as his successor: but before his letter came to hand, the pontiff had already appointed a different person, Hugh O'Reilly to the office. And the learned Dr. Mac Mahon, in speak-

* *Hib. Dom.*, p. 628. *Jus Prim. Armac.*, c. 93. *Athen. Ozon.*, vol. 1., p. 481. *Stuart*, pp. 271, 272.

† p. 295 of the "*Life of St. Patrick, &c.*," mentioned in the note, p. 1236 sup.

ing of his predecessors at Armagh, makes no mention of such a person as Fleming between the names of Mac Caghwell and O'Reilly, of both of whom he speaks in distinct terms.*

5. HUGH O'REILLY, succeeding as aforesaid, occupied the titular primacy at a period when Ireland was rent and wasted with all the horrors of civil war : and in the political turmoils of his day, he was far from being an inactive spectator of passing events. In the year 1642 he summoned his clergy to a synod in which the war then carried on by the Irish was declared lawful and pious. But plunderers and murderers were denounced in terms of execration, such as have been applied by modern agitators to ribbonmen and other like minor speculators in civil and political disturbances.†

In the month of May, a general synod of all the Roman Catholic clergy was assembled at Kilkenny, where numerous acts were solemnly passed. The war, said to be maintained by the Catholics against sectaries, and in defence of religion and of the king, was again declared just and equitable. It was determined that an oath of association should be taken by the confederates, and that all who should reject it, or remain neuter, should be excommunicated. It was decreed also that provincial councils of the clergy and laity, as well as a general national council, should be formed, to which the minor ones were to be subordinate ; and that embassies should be sent to foreign potentates to solicit aid.

The various acts of the "national" assembly which met at Kilkenny may be found in the historians of that period. Among other measures which it adopted, was the appointment of a supreme council of 24 persons, allowing six for each province. Those nominated for Ulster were, Hugh O'Reilly, titular primate, the titular bishop of Down, and four others who were laymen. Nine of the entire number were necessary to compose an efficient council. And by their body sheriffs were to be chosen out of such persons as should be nominated by county councils. All civil magistrates were to have been subordinate to their command ; and a guard of 500 foot, and 200 horse was assigned for the protection of the assembly.‡

It seems probable that whatever power Dr. O'Reilly possessed in right of his titular primacy soon became subordinate to that of Peter Scaramp, who appeared at the assembly of Kilkenny as minister of the pope, from whom he brought letters to the supreme council and to the prelates, with a supply of money and ammunition, as well as a bull for a

H. O'Reilly, *FIFTH titular primate of Ireland.* A.D. 1636 ; promoted the great rebellion, A.D. 1642.

Titular synod of Kilkenny.

Appointment of the "Supreme Council," &c.

An agent comes from the pope, with ammunition.

* See No. XXX. inf. Paul Harris's "*Fratres Sobrii estote.*" Ware's *Writers*, book i., p. 115. Stuart, pp. 352, 353.

† *Hib. Dom.*, cap. 6, p. 109 ; also p. 489. Leland, 3, 180, seqq.

‡ Leland, ut sup. ; Borlase ; Cox, p. 125, &c.

money,
bulls, &c.

Arrival of
Rinuncini;

who is sup-
ported by
Titular
O'Reilly.

Colgan's
A.A. 88. de-
dicated to
this prelate.

Notice of
him in a let-
ter of Bp.
Bedell.

jubilee; and also a plenary absolution for those who had armed them-
selves in defence of the Roman Catholic religion.*

Soon after came that mischief-making firebrand, the pope's nuncio Rinuncini, archbishop of Fermo; under whose fatal influence O'Reilly and the clergy of his persuasion were induced to adopt measures greatly conducive to the overthrow of the king's interest in this kingdom, and the final establishment of the party connected with the usurper Cromwell. Under the guidance of this Rinuncini, they on the 12th of August, 1646, decreed that every member of "the Catholic association" who should adhere to a treaty of peace which had been transmitted to them by the supreme council, should be deemed perjured and excommunicated; a decree which was signed by O'Reilly's proxy and procurator Edmund O'Teig, he himself not having been present in person at the meeting which passed it.† His own signature however in the assumed form *Hugo Armacanus* is annexed to various documents executed about this period by the most active of the Romish leaders. For instance, on the 10th of January, 1646-7, the assembly of Roman Catholics met at Kilkenny and drew up a form of oath of association, by which they swore to maintain faithful allegiance to the king and his successors; to defend the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the free exercise of the Romish religion, and the lives and properties of their associates; to obey the edicts of the supreme council, and not to make or adhere to any peace concluded without the consent of a general assembly, &c. And at the head of the list of ecclesiastics who subscribed this document, the first name that occurs is that of Hugh O'Reilly.‡

It was to this prelate, who appears to have been of the distinguished family of the O'Reilly's, lords of Cavan, that Colgan dedicated his learned work, the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*. Previously to his elevation to the titular primacy, he had been titular bishop of Kilmore, his native district. The following notice of him as Romish primate of Ireland occurs in a letter of the excellent bishop Bedell, describing to bishop Laud the state of his diocese, and bearing date April 1, 1630.

"A popish clergy, more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical by their vicar general and officials; who are so confident, as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes: which affront hath been offered myself by the popish primate's vicar-general, for which I have begun a process against him. The primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house; the bishop in another part of my diocese, further off."§

* Leland, 3. 298. Stuart, p. 344.
† App. *Hib. Dom.*, pp. 882, seqq.

‡ Cox, App. 80, pp. 122, 128
§ Mant, l. 436.

The exact period of H. O'Reilly's death is not known. It is supposed to have occurred in the Co. Cavan, circ. A.D. 1686.*

6. To him succeeded EDMUND O'REILLY, concerning whom we have but little information supplied to us. He seems to have been of much the same kind of spirit with his namesake and predecessor; and much of his time was spent either abroad or in prison. He was a native, it appears, of the county of Dublin, and had discharged for some time the pastoral office in that archdiocese; after which he was appointed rector of the Irish College in Louvain, about A.D. 1687. In 1640 he returned to his native country, and was received with marks of high esteem by Thomas Fleming, titular archbishop of Dublin, who shortly after appointed him his vicar-general. At Rome also his merits were so highly thought of, that when the titular dignity in the archiepiscopal see of Armagh became vacant by the death of H. O'Reilly, he was the person selected to fill the office, in order to which he was consecrated at Brussels about A.D. 1687. Shortly after he came into Ireland, and remained there until A.D. 1662.

This titular archbishop stands accused of having endeavoured to excite in parliament an interest for the Ulster Irish. "because," said he, "they never had an affection for the king, nor his family; and as for me, I never was a friend or well-wisher to any of the four," meaning of the king, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Marquis of Ormond. He had been charged also with having, at a former period, carried on a treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Tyrone and others in Flanders, concerning an intended invasion of Ireland; for which he had been for a short space of time imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. He is said likewise to have issued precepts, commanding the people to pray for the success of Cromwell. Altogether his recorded acts have more connection with politics than with religion.†

It seems however that on the failure of the Romish party, and the massacre of their clergy by Cromwell's people, he was forced to flee to the kingdom, and take refuge in exile. But after the Restoration, having solicited, by letter, permission from the king to come back to his native land, he was allowed this liberty by the monarch, Charles II. without any difficulty: as it was hoped that he would support a recognition of loyalty, the celebrated Irish Remonstrance, which was then expected from the Roman Catholic bishops. The document, which not only expressed strong attachment to the king, but even disclaimed the pope's temporal supremacy, was signed by the titular bishop of Down, 54 regulars, 17 seculars, 10 R. Catholic noblemen,

Edmund O'Reilly, SIXTH *Primate* of the new race. A.D. 1687.

Various acts of treason attributed to him.

His opposition to the *Irish Remonstrance*, A.D. 1666;

* Brennan, ii. 204.
IX., p. 90, *ib.* Stuart, p. 256.

Cox, Charles II., p. 54, App.

and many of the gentry. But Ed. O'Reilly, in a synodical meeting of the clergy, A.D. 1666, opposed the adoption of this remonstrance with all his powers. Shortly after, he and all the other R. Catholic bishops in Ireland connected with him, except two that were decrepid and unable to escape, fled from the kingdom. O'Reilly however failed in attempting to make good his escape to the continent; and having been taken prisoner in September, 1666, he was sent to England. In 1670, during the government of Lord Berkeley, the anti-remonstrants were taken into favour. But O'Reilly did not live to witness their triumph, having died in A.D. 1669.*

His death,
A.D. 1669.

O. Plunket,
SEVENTH
Primate
of the modern
Romish connection
in Ireland.

His dealings
with P. Talbot,
titular
abp. of
Dublin.

He is accused
of high
treason:

7. OLIVER PLUNKET was the next titular primate, a prelate whose chief distinction, as will be seen from what follows, was his unfortunate end. He had studied at Rome, and there became D.D., and also public professor of divinity in the College *De Propaganda Fide*, which had been instituted in A.D. 1621, as an effective instrument for exercising jurisdiction in the affairs of missions and foreign churches. At length, in A.D. 1669, he was promoted by Pope Clement IX. to the title of the archbishopric of Armagh.†

In the days of this Plunket, Peter Talbot, the titular archbishop of Dublin, a man of some talent, and of a restless, aspiring disposition, sought to assume a superiority over his primate, as well as to direct the political movements of the Irish Romanists. He had been the means of exciting persecution against those of the clergy who had signed the "remonstrance of their loyalty to the king," and had even denounced them excommunicated. But Archbishop Plunket not only took measures to restrain him in his proceedings, but also reproved him for having "the reputation of intermeddling too much in affairs of state, contrary to the canons and orders of the pope." For this Plunket has been described as "a man of loyal principles, who on all occasions expressed his abhorrence of political intrigues, and recommended peaceable submission to the government," and he is characterised by bishop Burnet as a "wise and sober man, who was for living quietly and in due submission" to the lawful authorities of the state.‡

Notwithstanding however the character thus given of him, Archbishop Plunket, after he had filled for some years the office of titular primate, was arraigned on a charge of holding a treasonable corres-

* Cox, Charles II. Ware's *Writers*, p. 195. *Hib. Dom.*, 710. Stuart, p. 357.

† *Hib. Dom.*, pp. 130, 499. Ardeskin, *Theologicis Tripart.*, Venice, 1700, p. 327. Stuart, p. 368.

‡ Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. f. 230. Stuart, pp. 358, 359. Leland, 3, 481. Ware's *Writers*, 192.

pondence with the French court. His accusers were Murphy, titular chanter of Armagh, and certain friars and laymen; some at least of them being, as it seems, anything but very good characters. Twenty thousand Frenchmen, it was stated, were to land at Carlingford, and Dr. Plunket was to join them with 70,000 men. On this charge he was seized and sent to Newgate on the 6th of December, 1679, and thence in October, 1680, removed to London. Here the first attempt to convict him failed, the jury refusing to find the bills against him. But additional evidences having been procured, he was in the end pronounced guilty of the crimes alleged to his charge, and sentenced to be executed.*

apprehended ;

and at length convicted.

The accusations brought against him, as enumerated by himself in his dying moments, were as follows :—

Particulars of the charge against him.

"*First*," says he, "that I have sent letters by one Neal O'Neal, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the pope's secretary; to the bishop of Aix, and Principe Colonna; that they might solicit foreign powers to invade Ireland, and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bouillon to the same effect.

"*Secondly*, To have employed Captain Con O'Neal to solicit the French king for succour.

"*Thirdly*, to have levied and exacted monies from the clergy of Ireland to bring in the French, and to maintain seventy thousand men.

"*Fourthly*, to have had in readiness 70,000 men, and lists made of them, and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy, to make a list of two hundred and fifty men in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Louth.

"*Fifthly*, to have surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland; and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour for the French landing.

"*Sixthly*, to have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

"*Finally*, that there was a meeting in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, where there were three hundred gentlemen of three several counties, to wit Monaghan, Cavan, and Armagh; whom I did exhort to take up arms to recover their estates."

Plunket's papers and witnesses being in Ireland, five weeks were allowed him by the chief justice, from the date of his arraignment on the 3rd of May, for having them transmitted to London. On the day of trial however, they had not arrived, contrary winds and untoward accidents being alleged as the cause of their delay, to which was

Unfavourable position of the accused on his trial.

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 513. Ware's *Writers*, p. 199. Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 282. Ardsarkin, *Theolog. Trip.* &c.

added the difficulty experienced by a prisoner in strict confinement, in endeavouring to bring forward, at such a set time, witnesses who were scattered through various counties. The archbishop therefore prayed for a delay of twelve additional days; but the request was refused; the judges proceeded with the trial, and a conviction ensued.

His execution, and dying address.

On the 1st of July, 1681, Plunket was taken on a sledge to Tyburn, and there executed in the presence of a great concourse. With his latest breath he called on heaven to witness his innocence, strongly urging the absurdity of the supposition that 20,000 Frenchmen were to have been landed at Carlingford, and the great improbability of his being able to levy an army of 70,000 Irishmen, when the whole income of the Romish clergy of Ireland would not have sufficed, according to his statement, to raise, clothe, equip, and feed, a single regiment. "The Irish clergy," he observed, "were so poor, that he himself who was the head of a whole province, lived in a little thatched house, with only one servant, having never above sixty pounds yearly income; so that neither he or they could be thought very likely to carry a design of this nature." No man who knew Ireland would, he alleged, credit such charges, or believe the still more extravagant assertion, that he had surrounded all the forts and harbours of the kingdom, if he were to admit their truth with his dying breath.

His head preserved by his friends.

After execution, his head was severed from his body, and the latter buried in St. Giles's churchyard in the Fields. It was however afterwards removed to Germany, and interred there. The head "with silvery coloured hair" was recovered, we are told by, his friends, and for some time preserved in a convent of Dominican nuns in Drogheda.*

Plunket's controversy with Talbot of Dublin for pre-eminence.

The controversy for superiority between Plunket, and Talbot, archbishop of the Romanists of Leinster, has been already mentioned. It appears that at a convocation of theirs which took place in Dublin in 1670, each of the contending archbishops refused to subscribe subsequent to the other. To promote better order at their future meetings, the point at issue was referred to the see of Rome, which decided the matter in favour of the titular archbishop of Armagh. This dispute gave Plunket occasion to write in 1672 a book entitled *Jus Primatiale*, on the ancient right and pre-eminence of the see of Armagh above all other archbishoprics of the kingdom. To which Talbot replied in A.D. 1674 in another work bearing the title *Primatus Dublinensis, &c.*, and setting forth the arguments in favour of his side of the point at issue.

D. Maguire EIGHTH
Primate of the new race of prelates.
A.D. 1681.

8. The eighth primate of the modern Romish communion in Ireland was DOMINICK MAGUIRE, of the family of the Maguires, lords of Fermanagh. Having been partly educated among some Dominican

* *Hib. Dom.* p. 181. *Ware's Writers*, p. 194.

Friars in his own part of Ireland, he finished his studies in Spain : became a friar himself in Derry ; then went to London, and was appointed honorary chaplain to the Spanish ambassador ; and was at length advanced by Pope Innocent XI. to the titular primacy of Ireland in 1681. Russel, the cotemporary titular archbishop of Dublin, did not attempt to question his superiority ; but on the contrary allowed him in 1686 to preside at a session of the Romish clergy, held in Dublin, at which Russel himself was present ; and similarly in other subsequent cases.*

Archbishop Maguire died in 1708 at Paris, whither he seems to have fled after the surrender of Limerick, when many of the Romish prelates took refuge in France. The pope nominated one Dr. Richd. O'Hearn his successor, but this individual was led from diffidence to decline the dignity. Maguire, it appears, with the bishops of his persuasion, were instrumental to the preservation of the valuable library of Trinity College, during the troubles of the reign of James II. ; they having procured that a secular priest, one Dr. Moore, a person, it is said, of learning, taste, and integrity, should be appointed provost, instead of some of the Jesuits, on whom the king had been almost persuaded to confer the rule of the establishment. Moore, it appears, preserved the books from injury with the most exact care, even when the library was turned into a military garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the students' chambers into prisons.

During the reign of Queen Anne, the affairs of the titular primacy of Armagh were, it seems, managed by an administrator, Dr. Donnelly, afterwards titular bishop of Dromore ; most of the Roman Catholic prelates being forced at this period to leave Ireland, in consequence of the strictness and severity of the laws which were enacted and enforced against them and their fellow-labourers in A.D. 1697 and subsequently.*

9. In the year 1708, Dr. HUGH MAC MAHON was nominated by the pope archbishop of Armagh. Of the transactions of his life little interesting is recorded. But his famous work, the "*Jus Primatiale Armacanum*," published by him in 1728, has remained to posterity as a lasting monument of his industry, learning, and controversial powers. Dr. Plunket's book on the subject had been replied to, as we have seen, by Talbot of Dublin, in A.D. 1674 ; and the rejoinder it received exhibited some talent and much warmth ; but the contest had been interrupted by the deaths of the two contending parties, and Maguire, who succeeded Plunket, finding his primatial superiority un-

His services in preserving the Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin.

Dr. Mac Mahon
NINTH PRIMATE OF THE
new succession.

* Stuart, pp. 399, 400. *Hib. Dom.* 6, p. 499. *Jus. Prim. Arm.* 29. *Let.* 2, 508.

† Stuart, p. 403.

His abilities and learning displayed in his *Jus*.

P. A.

disputed, thought it unnecessary, it seems, for him to resume the controversy. Dr. Mac Mahon, however, who would fain consider himself the genuine successor of St. Patrick, deemed it a matter of duty which he should not neglect, to set forth and assert the ancient privileges and prerogatives of his see; and the result of his toils was the publication of the celebrated volume above mentioned, in which, as Harris remarks, "he has accurately handled, or rather exhausted the subject;" exhibiting in his treatise a minuteness of research, and an extent of learning on the points in question, which are indeed very remarkable.*

His death.

Dr. Mac Mahon appears to have troubled himself not much with political affairs. He died in A.D. 1737, on the 2nd of August; aged 77 years.

Subsequent history of the succession obscure.

Of the titular primates who came after Dr. Mac Mahon, Mr. Stuart could find little or no traces in any works which he had met with. He was however supplied with a brief account of them by Dr. Edmund Derry, titular bishop of Dromore, which is inserted in his History of Armagh, and which is our authority for the subjoined notices of the next succeeding titular prelates, in their proper order.

B. Mac Mahon, TENTH titular primate after the Reformation.

10. H. Mac Mahon's immediate successor was Bernard, commonly called BRYAN, MAC MAHON; who, after having studied at Rome, became titular bishop of Clogher, and was thence translated to Armagh. He lived at Ballymascanlan in the Co. Louth, in a dwelling the style of which was nothing above that of a farm-house. Here spending his days in a kind of domestic exile, on account of the severity of the times, he was generally known by the name of Mr. Ennis. He was, we are informed, a person of devout life and simple manners.†

Ross Mac Mahon, ELEVENTH.

11. His brother ROSS, who had succeeded to him in Clogher, succeeded to him also as titular primate. Of him nothing remarkable appears to be recorded.

M. O'Reilly, TWELFTH Primate of this list.

12. MICHAEL O'REILLY, on the death of Ross, was promoted to the title of the see of Armagh, having been previously called vicar-general of Kilmore, and afterwards for many years bishop of Derry. He was the author of two catechisms, one in Irish, the other in English, which became very popular in Ireland, and particularly in Ul-

* *ib.* 403. Ware's *Writers*, p. 195; *Bishops*, p. 80. *Jus Prim. Armac. Pref.*

† Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 406 seqq., to which this one reference may suffice, for what next follows.

star. He is said to have exercised a very strict discipline among those who owned his ecclesiastical authority. He was accustomed to reside in a farm-house in the parish of Turfegin, near Drogheda, where he died about A.D. 1788.

13. The next primate of the Irish Roman Catholics was ANTHONY A. Blake, BLAKE, a Connaught gentleman, who, from being titular bishop of Ardagh, was translated to the titular archbishopric of Ulster. He could never be prevailed on, it seems, to reside permanently in his archbishopric; but as soon as his visitations were finished, he would return to the Co. of Galway, and live there among his relations. Until at length an action was brought against him at Rome for non-residence and extortion, his prosecutors being two of the titular parish priests of his province. The trial issued in the suspension of the archbishop from his functions, a penalty which after having continued for some time appears to have been at length removed. It is observed by the titular bishop of Dromore, from whose authority these notices are derived, that Blake's "appearance was very respectable, and in travelling to Ulster, and during his residence there, he always used an elegant carriage," such as would appear to have been very uncommon with his titular brethren in those days. He died in Connaught in A.D. 1786.*

A. Blake, THIRTEENTH primate of Creagh's race. A.D. 1786. His death, A.D. 1786.

14. RICHARD O'REILLY, a native of the diocese of Kildare, next succeeded. When 16 years old he had been sent to study at Rome in 1762, where, after diligent application in the regular courses, he attained the age required for the priesthood. After 11 years' employment in the latter office, he was appointed coadjutor of the titular bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, whose name was Keefe, and afterwards, in 1782, coadjutor to Blake, his predecessor at Armagh, who had become paralytic. He died January 31st, 1818, and was interred at Drogheda.†

Rd. O'Reilly, FOURTEENTH occupant of the new primacy. Died Jan. 31, A.D. 1818.

* On the 22nd of April, 1750, Thomas De Burgh, author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, received episcopal consecration from the hands of Dr. Blake.—Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 406; *Hib. Dom.* p. 361.

† "The writer of this article," says the titular bp. Dr. Derry, (speaking of himself,) "had often the honour of dining with the late learned, liberal, and hospitable, the Right Rev. Doctor Percy, Protestant bishop of Dromore, and frequently with Dr. O'Reilly. He could not, except in the number of servants, observe any difference in their style of living. At their tables there was the same kind of rational and improving conversation, and the like sober modest magnificence;" a somewhat odd comparison of the relative merits of two prelates, by a third of their order. Stuart, p. 409.

Of this prelate, the titular bishop of Dromore observes, that "having an independent fortune, he was the first [R.] Catholic primate since the revolution who had it in his power to live in a manner becoming his dignified station." He was also, according to the same writer, a person of extensive information, and of a very amiable disposition.

P. Curtis,
FIFTEENTH
titular pri-
mate of the
present se-
ries.
A.D. 1819.

15. PATRICK CURTIS, a native of Stamullin parish, Co. Meath, next succeeded. After having been employed at an early age in mercantile business, he became an ecclesiastical student in the University of Salamanca in Spain, where having acquired a high reputation, he was at length appointed head of the Irish College in that city. On the breaking out of the peninsular war, he was enabled from his position and acquaintance with the country and its inhabitants, to render useful service to the Duke of Wellington and the troops under his command, which was partly the occasion of a subsequent correspondence between the Duke and him, previously to the passing of the "Emancipation Bill."

His charac-
ter ;

After having spent thirty years in Salamanca, Dr. Curtis returned home to his native land ; where, on the death of Richard O'Reilly, he was advanced to the titular primacy, and consecrated on the 28th of October, 1819. His moderation is said to have gained him such general respect from all parties, that the old corporation of Drogheda presented him with his freedom in a golden box. He was one of the Roman Catholic prelates who, in 1825, were summoned before a Parliamentary Committee, to give evidence on the state of Ireland. In the "Annual Register" for 1832, his death is said to have taken place "at Drogheda, 26th Aug." in that year ; but on the 26th July, according to the "Complete Catholic Directory."

and death.

Thos. Kelly
SIXTEENTH

16. The next primate of the modern Roman succession in Ireland was THOMAS KELLY, a native of the archdiocese of Armagh, con-

In the same place Dr. Derry subjoins the following note:—"As soon as the [R.] Catholic bishop arrived in Dromore, Dr. Percy sent him a most polite and friendly invitation with his *suite*, which word he always made use of ; the consequence was that the [R.] Catholic bishop, with seven or eight priests, uniformly dined with him. Having heard the character of the late Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Percy often expressed a desire to be acquainted with him, and sent by the bishop an invitation to him, to come, (as he expressed it,) and see an old blind man." Stuart, ut sup. Rom. xvi. 17, 18 ; 2 Cor. vi. 14 ; Titus i. 9—13 ; 2 S. John, 10, 11.

cerning whom we are supplied in the "Directory" aforesaid with the following information :—

"The [titular] primate's career was short. He studied at Maynooth, where having been ordained on the 23rd September, 1820, by the [titular] archbishop of Dublin, he was appointed Junior Dean, an office which he filled with zeal and discretion, until after the consecration of Dr. MacHale as coadjutor of Killala. He succeeded that illustrious prelate in the chair of Dogmatic Theology. Having discharged the arduous and important duties as Senior Professor for little more than a year, he was on the 16th June, 1826, appointed [titular] bishop of the then vacant see of Dromore, and consecrated in the chapel of Newry, by the [titular] Abp. of Dublin, on the 27th August following, just six years after the completion of his collegiate studies and his ordination to the ministry of the [Hiberno-Roman] Catholic Church. His grace was, on the 23rd December made coadjutor of Armagh, with future succession to the late venerable Dr. Curtis; and on the 26th July, 1832, he succeeded that truly apostolic prelate, to whom in all things he proved a worthy successor in the [titular] primate's chair. He died 13th January, 1835."

17. Of the present respectable occupant of the titular primacy of Ireland, we find in the same volume this following notice :—

"The Most Rev. WM. CROLLY, D.D., formerly Professor of Logic in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth, consecrated Bishop of Down and Connor 1st May, 1825, elevated to the [titular] primate's see of Armagh in April, 1835; removed from Belfast to Armagh, September same year."

W. Crollly,
SEVEN-
TEENTH
primate of
the new se-
ries.
A.D. 1835.

18. Since the above was written, a sudden illness was the means of P. Cullen, removing Dr. Crollly from this life, at Drogheda, on Good Friday, 1849, whereupon the Bishop of Rome, in the exercise of his usurped supremacy over a portion of the inhabitants of these islands, appointed PAUL CULLEN, rector of the Irish College in Rome, to succeed to the vacant position.

Of this appointment it may be observed, that it exhibits a step, not unworthy of notice, in the progress of Italian encroachment on the liberties of those who are subjected to its influence. In the earliest ages of Irish Christianity, when a bishop was to be chosen, or a bishopric erected, no foreign power was invited or allowed to have a share in the transaction. So in the legends of S. Maldoe, we are informed that "King Brandubh, and the laity as well as the clergy, held a great synod in Leinster, and there he made a decree, that the arch-

EIGH-
TEENTH
titular pri-
mate of the
modern suc-
cession in
Ireland.
A.D. 1849.
Contrast
between the
mode of ap-
pointment
in this case

and the system of the early Christians of these islands.

Illustration in the acts of Abp. Celsus, of Armagh.

Case of St. Kentegern's election and consecration.

System in use among the Roman Catholics in Ireland at present.

Instance in the sees of

bishopric of all the people of Leinster should be perpetually fixed in the see and cathedral of S. Maldoe," i.e. in Ferns, (see note, p. 448 sup.) Celsus of Armagh (p. 472 sup.) had created a new archbishopric in Cashel by his own "mere Irish" authority, without caring what any foreign prelate thought of the step, a whit more than any former Irish bishop or archbishop had thought of doing in any kindred matter before his time; although his next successor, Malachy, soon after, shewed a more humble deference to papal authority, according to the instructions of his counsellor Gille of Limerick. Celsus again, when dying, was so far from repenting of his past negligence, that his very last act was a plain acknowledgment of regal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, as well as of native independence of Roman power in spiritual matters; that act being the nomination of his successor in the primacy, not contingent on papal sanction, but accompanied with a dying charge "to the two kings of Munster, and the princes of the land," to ratify the same, as they respected the authority of the coward of St. Patrick. And when the Britons of old Cambria were desirous to have a bishop consecrated for the government of Christ's Church in their territory, "the king and clergy" of the place, "with the other Christians there," came together, and elected Kentegern for their chief pastor; and, instead of sending to Rome for any ratification of the act, they sent over to Ireland for a bishop to consecrate their newly elected prelate, in a manner quite at variance with the rules and customs of Rome. (See pp. 1006, 1007 sup.) John Tinnuth, to be sure, apologises for those poor "islanders beyond the world's end," by saying they were ignorant of the canon law, and hindered by the "outbursting of the pagan invasion," from having free communication with Rome. But he is at the same time candid, or indiscreet enough, to let us know that their own apology was different, and that they grounded their customs "on the authority of the divine law, and on the tradition of the apostles." Kentegern however, like Malachy, although appointed by independent native authority, bowed to Roman influence, and lent a hand to extend it among his countrymen, as appears from what is said of his different visits to Rome, and the circumstances connected with them.

The method usually adopted among the Roman Catholics of Ireland at the present day, in selecting individuals for promotion to the titular episcopate, will be sufficiently understood from the following instances of modern cases, extracted from the public journals in this country.

1. In *Saunders's Newsletter* of Monday, August 31, 1846, we find the following extract from a Cork Roman Catholic journal :—

"The Conference of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the diocese of Cloyne and Ross was held on Wednesday in Fermoy, for the election

of a Coadjutor Bishop. The Conference was presided over by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, [titular] Bishop of Cork, and the Right Rev. Dr. Crotty, [titular] Bishop of Cloyne and Ross.

A.D. 1846;

"The following names will be sent forward to the Court of Rome, as standing highest in the list:—

"Rev. David Walsh, P.P. Clonakilty; Rev. Morgan O'Brien, P.P. Mitchelstown; Rev. Timothy Murphy, P.P. Fermoy. The election of the future Bishop rests with the Pope.—*Cork Examiner*."

The result of this meeting is made known to us in the next extract, from the *Cork Constitution* of Thursday, April 22nd, 1846, thus—

"**ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF CLOYNE AND ROSS.**—The Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, late P.P. of Clonakilty, is now by the appointment of the Court of Rome, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross.—*Examiner*."

2. After the death of Dr. Murphy, titular bishop of Cork, the following announcement was made in the same journal. (*Cork Constitution*, Thursday, May 6, 1847.)

and in that of Cork, A.D. 1847.

"**DIOCESE OF CORK.**—**ELECTION OF A TITULAR BISHOP.**—This important duty was entered on this day in the Cathedral, by the Prelates of the Province, and the parish priests of the diocese of Cork. The proceedings occupied about three hours, when after a scrutiny of the votes, the three following names were elected as having the largest number of votes:—

"1st on the list—Very Rev. T. Mathew, Cork.

"2nd on the list—Very Rev. W. Delany, Bandon.

"3rd on the list—Very Rev. T. Barry, Bantry.

"The appointment of one of those three now rests with his Holiness Pius the IX. and the Propaganda.—*Examiner of yesterday*."

In this instance the name first on the list was eventually overlooked, and the appointment given by the bishop of Rome to the second individual (Delany) of the trio.

But in the recent nomination to the titular primacy of Ireland, foreign domination asserted for the first time a larger exercise of power, and repudiating all three of the candidates of Irish selection, appointed for the head of the Romish body in this island a different person altogether, viz., P. Cullen above named; concerning whose appointment the leading Roman Catholic journal of the country (the *Tab- out press*) at the close of more lengthened observations on the matter, speaks thus:—

The course pursued in the late case of the titular primacy wholly with- out precedent ;

as observed
in the
Tab. et.

"Dr. Cullen's appointment is also remarkable in another point of view, and illustrates in a very striking manner, the tendency of this time, towards practical ultra-montaniam; towards throwing the whole power of the Church upon the successor of St. Peter. Since the Irish clergy first had authority given them to elect their bishops—subject, of course, to the inalienable prerogative of the holy see—this we believe is the first instance in which the list sent up from the diocese has been altogether set aside. Frequently the holy see, acting on the advice of the bishops of the province, has selected one of the three who had the smallest number of votes; but never before have the three nominees been all passed by."—Sat. Jan. 12, 1850.

LIST OF TITULAR PRELATES IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DUBLIN, FROM
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR SUCCESSION IN THAT SEE.

Of M. de
Oviedo,
FIRST of the
titular arch-
bishops of
Dublin.
A.D. 1600.

His first
visit to Ire-
land.

He returns
again as ti-
tular Pre-

1. Of MATTHEW DE OVIEDO, the first titular archbishop of the new Romish line in Dublin, the following account is taken from Mr. Dalton's History of the prelates of that see.

"After Hugh Curwin had in 1559 abandoned the faith which he early professed, the parliamentary assertion of Queen Elizabeth's supremacy, and the imprisonments, banishments, persecutions, and ecclesiastical spoiliations that ensued, as recorded in the *Analecta Sacra* of the eloquent Dr. Roth, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, prevented the appointment of a prelate to this province for upwards of forty years." (p. 366.) "At length a riotous insurrection, headed by James Fitz Maurice, the brother of the Earl of Desmond, provoked by the imprisonment of that unfortunate nobleman, and magnified at the Spanish court into an open rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, induced Philip the Second to afford to the importunity of the insurgent chief a troop of about 80 Spaniards, while he at the same time sent with the expedition a Franciscan friar, named Matthew de Oviedo, charged with the important duty of ascertaining the true state of Ireland, and making his report upon its prospects. Happily the expedition was wholly unsuccessful; the rash leader perished in a brawl, and De Oviedo returned to his native country; whence however he was destined to revisit this in a capacity more legitimately connected with the object of this work. Succeeding efforts to seduce the Irish into a rebellious vindication of their wrongs were equally ineffective." (p. 367.)

[On receipt of the letter of the Sagan Earl of Desmond, of March 14. 1599, complaining of the cruelty and religious persecutions of Elizabeth, (See No. 49 *inf.*) we learn (p. 369) that] "the Spanish

monarch again invited from his monastery the ecclesiastic before alluded to, and by his interest at the court of Rome, Matthew de Oviedo revisited Ireland in May of the year 1600, in the high and responsible situation of [titular] archbishop of Dublin."

(p. 370. *ib.*) "On his revisiting Ireland as before mentioned, although appointed to the ecclesiastical government of Leinster, he immediately proceeded to fulfil what seems to have been a more congenial object; and without a notice or observation of his diocese, he hurried into Ulster, eager to deliver his credentials to the chieftains O'Neill and O'Donnell, who still exercised an almost uncontrolled sovereignty over that province. As soon as he had assured himself of their services in the meditated Spanish invasion, he returned to his royal Master, who seemed so confident in his powers of negotiation as to attach him to the suite of Don Juan d'Agulla, with whom, and the Spanish forces designed for the emancipation of Ireland, he landed at Kinsale on the 2nd of October 1601." (See No. LIII., p. 1288, *inf.*)

[On the 12th of the same month he wrote to O'Neill and O'Donnell, bidding them hurry to Kinsale with horses, &c. (p. 371) and in January following he was sent back to Spain with despatches to the king from the Earl of Desmond, &c. (p. 372.)] "A fugitive and a wanderer from the diocese of his charge, he never returned to Ireland, but passed the remainder of his days in Spain, a pensioner on the court." He died in A.D. 1608.

There were therefore two titular prelates connected with Ireland alive when James I. began to reign; Oviedo, the second of them, having been forgotten in the statement made relative to C. Ryan at pp. 889, 890 *sup.*

2. The next of the titular archbishops of this diocese was EUGENE MATTHEWS, who having been Romish priest of the parish of Clogher, was made the titular bishop of that see in August, 1609, and thence translated to the archiepiscopal title of Dublin, on May 2, 1611. In June 1614, he presided at a synod or conference held in the city of Kilkenny "for the reformation and good government of the province of Dublin" (as Mr. Dalton speaks,) of which a notice has been introduced in the text of this work. (at pp. 898—9, *sup.*) and of which further particulars will be found in the Article No. 67 *inf.* Having retired to Louvain shortly before the close of his life, he founded in that city a second Irish College in the year 1623; one having been already established there in 1616 by Philip III. king of Spain, at the instance of the titular archbishop Florence Conry of Tuam. Archbishop Matthews died at Louvain in the same year, 1623.*

* In the Tract entitled, *A brief Relation of Ireland and the diversity of Irish in the same*, 'presented to y^e Council of Spayne circ. an. 1618, by Florence, y^e pretended Abp. of Tuam, and thought to be penned by

T. Fleming, 3. THOMAS FLEMING, descended from the family of the barons THIRD of Slane, and a member of the Franciscan order, succeeded, and was of the new Ro- consecrated in October 1633. This prelate during the same year ob- mish line of tained from Pope Urban VIII a brief allowing Irish students to be Prelates in ordained "*ad titulum missionis*." See No. 70, inf. He died during Dublin. the usurpation of Cromwell (1648—1660.) To him Colgan dedicated A.D. 1633. the *Trias Thaumaturga*.

A few extracts from Mr. Dalton's observations on this part of our Ecclesiastical History, may appear to the reader not inappropriate for insertion in connection with the name of the prelate here briefly noticed; viz:—

His connec- (pp. 402 seqq.) The synod of Roman Catholic Clergy which met at tion with the Kilkenny in May 1643, "agreed in declaring the war in Ireland to be rebellion of against Sectaries, and chiefly puritans, for the defence of the Catholic 1641. religion," the support of the king, queen, royal family, &c. Signed by,

"Hugh, Abp. Armagh.

"Patrick, Waterford and Lismore.

"Thomas, Cashel.

"Roche, Kildare.

"Malachy, Tussim.

"John, Clonfert.

"David, Ossory.

"Emer, Down and Connor."

"Boetius, Elphin.

and the proxies of Dublin, Limerick, Emly, and Killaloe, the vicar general of Waterford, Ferns, and Ossory, "Wardens," "Abbots," "Deans," "archdeacons," &c.

Rinuccini's arrival, Nov. 12, A.D. 1645.

(p. 408.) "John Baptist Rinuccini, Abp. Fermo, arrived in Ireland in the character of apostolic nuncio extraordinary; and on the 12th of November, 1645, presented himself with his credentials to the confederates there, announcing the objects of his mission, while he protested against the inference that he came to excite the [R] Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom against their king, and signified that nothing more agreeable to the supreme pontiff could take place, than that the confederates in Ireland, having recovered the free exercise of their religion, should observe due subjection, service, and reverence, to his serene majesty, though not a [R] Catholic. The conduct of this emissary was however fatally at variance with this fair and moderate representation of his commission." (p. 409.)

Philip O'Sullivan Bear, (MS. in the Library of Trinity Coll., Dublin, E. 3, 8. No. 36, f. 50,) this prelate is thus noticed by his common Irish name, at the head of the list of the "*Ancient Irish, Ecclesiastical*:"—

"Owen McMahon, Archbishop of Dublin, which is the court of Ireland—who was bred in Salamanca by his Maties. appointment, and now in Ireland"—(See not. p. 910 sup.)

In the same "*Relation*" at the head of the "*English-Irish Ecclesiastical*," occurs:—"Peter Lombard, Abp. [titular] of Armagh, lord Primate, in Rome."

"Accordingly on the ensuing 23rd of February, [1648,] this emissary bade farewell to a country which his intemperance had covered with widows and orphans, ruin and rancour." (p. 418.)
 (p. 426.) "Great as were the difficulties in upholding the hierarchy of the established Church in Ireland, it was almost utterly impossible that the Roman Catholic could be represented. At the close of the year 1660 there were but three prelates of that faith in Ireland, those of Armagh, Meath, and Kilmore."

His departure.
 A.D. 1648.
 But three Roman titulars in Ireland at this time.

4. PETER TALBOT, son of Sir Wm. Talbot, became a Jesuit in Portugal in 1635, and finished his theological studies afterwards at Rome. He was, after holding other offices abroad and at home, appointed to the titular archbishopric of Dublin, and consecrated thereto on May 2, 1669. Falling under charges of sinister designs in affairs of state, he found it expedient, in order to avoid the displeasure of government, to leave this country and retire to Paris, where he was living in 1674. In the following year he returned to Ireland, but in 1678 was arrested at Malahide, on charges of treasonable practices, and committed to Newgate. He died in prison, A.D. 1680. Besides his *Primatus Dubliniensis*, already referred to, at p. 1244 sup., he was the author of many other works on religious and controversial subjects. See Ware, *Writers*, p. 191.

P. Talbot,
 FIFTH
 Prelate of
 the new
 line in Dublin.
 A.D. 1669.

N. B. On a flyleaf of a copy of Ware's *Bishops*, in possession of Geo. Petrie, Esq. is a brief list of these titular prelates of Dublin, from Matthew de Oviedo to John Linegar, in which before the name of Archbishop Talbot, occurs this entry:—

"ARTHUR PLUNKET, *inter vivos* anno 1673."

Who this individual was, I cannot say; unless perhaps that he may have been a coadjutor bishop, acting for Talbot during his absence from Ireland.

A. Plunket,
 said to have
 enjoyed titular
 dignity
 in Dublin.
 A.D. 1673.

5. PATRICK RUSSELL, the fifth titular archbishop of Dublin, had studied at Lisbon; and was for some time titular parish priest of Garristown. He was consecrated in 1683; and died on the 14th June, 1697. His remains were interred at Lusk church.

P. Russell,
 FIFTH titular
 prelate of
 the Dublin
 series,
 A.D. 1683;
 holds "provincial
 councils."
 A.D. 1685.

Under this prelate were held three titular provincial councils, whereat were framed sundry "Constitutions" published in 1685 and subsequently, for the ordering and settlement of the affairs of the Church of Rome in the same province, and regulating the conduct of her ministers and people: as, "that no [R.] Catholic should attend the protestant service, assist as sponsor at their baptisms, or contract marriage through their ministers." "That no priest having possession of a parish for three years, shall on that account presume to acquire a right to that parish without a regular collation obtained from the ordinary, and that all such as have not yet received a formal collation must pro-

A new mode
 of obtaining
 the title of

P.P. noticed.

cure one within six months, or be deposed :” a rule curiously illustrative of the manner in which the new priests of the preceding period had been establishing themselves in the titles of the different parishes, whose old and lawful pastors of the ancient line had received the reformed religion. Finally in these *constitutions* of Archbishop Russell the acts and ordinances of the titular synod of Kilkenny A.D. 1614, are “received, ratified, and ordered to be observed faithfully throughout the province.”

P. Creagh,
SIXTH titular
abp. of
Dublin.
A.D. 1698.

6. PETER CREAGH, having been titular bishop of Cork, and subsequently of Tuam, was translated to Dublin in 1693: and died about A.D. 1706. “During all this period,” says Mr. Dalton, “not a single notice of public importance has been discovered in connection with Archbp. Creagh, and even the period of his death is only inferentially suggested by the date of his successor’s appointment.” *Abps. &c.* p. 459.

E. Byrne,
SEVENTH
titular abp.
of Dublin.
A.D. 1707.

7. EDMUND BYRNE succeeded in A.D. 1707. Of him I find this notice in the flyleaf of Ware abovementioned: he was “born in Fingal, educated in Spain; was parish priest first of Wicklow, and afterwards of St. Nicholas without; dyed about the 10th of February, and was bury’d in St. James’s Church yard, 1723.”

E. Murphy,
EIGHTH
of the new race
in Dublin.
A.D. 1724.

8. EDWARD MURPHY, “born in Balrudery, educated in Salamanca, was parish priest of St. Audoen’s, Dublin, and from thence was promoted to be Bp. of Kildare, and afterwards [in 1724] translated to Dublin, which he held about four years; he dy’d about the 22nd of December 1728, and was bury’d in St. James’s Church yard.” (*ib.*)

L. Fagan,
NINTH prelate
of this
series.
A.D. 1729.

9. LUKE FAGAN, “study’d in Sevil, and was parish priest of Baldoyle, from whence he was rais’d to the dignity of being [titular] Bp. of Meath, which he held 15 or 16 years; and from thence removed to Dublin [in 1729] which he held about four years. He dy’d Nov. 11, and was bury’d in St. Michan’s, 1733.”

J. Linegar,
TENTH.
A.D. 1734 ?

10. JOHN (FLANAGAN) LINEGAR, “born in Church street, [Dublin,] studied at Lisbon,” and having been appointed successor to Abp. Fagan, occupied the office for 22 years.

R. Lincoln,
ELEVENTH.
A.D. 1757.

11. RICHARD LINCOLN succeeded in 1757; he died in 1763 and was interred in St. James’s Church yard, Dublin.

P. Fitz Simon,
TWELFTH.
A.D. 1763.

12. PATRICK FITZ SIMON, “Dean of Dublin and parish priest of St. Audoen’s,” succeeded in 1763, and occupied the office for six years.

13. JOHN CARPENTER, "Prebendary of Wicklow, and curate of J. Carpenter, St. Mary's in Dublin," was consecrated in that city on June 3, 1770, ter, THIRTEENTH. by the titular primate, Dr. Blake, and other prelates of his communion. He died on the 29th of October, 1786, and was buried in St. A.D. 1770. Michan's Church yard.

14. JOHN THOMAS TROY, the next in this series of prelates, J. T. Troy, was a native of Porterstown, Co. Dublin; became in early age a Dominican friar at Rome, and after some time was appointed Rector of the FOURTEENTH titular College of St. Clement in that city. On the death of Dr. Burke, titular abp. bp. of Ossory, in 1776, he was nominated by the pope to the vacant of Dublin. office, and consecrated at Louvain in the same year by the archbishop A.D. 1786. of Mechlin, &c. From Ossory he was translated to Dublin in 1786. His death took place in A.D. 1823.

15. DANIEL MURRAY, the present archbishop of the Church of D. Murray, Rome in Dublin, was consecrated in 1809 as "archbishop of Hierapolis FIFTEENTH. and coadjutor of Dublin," and became successor of Dr. Troy in 1823. A.D. 1823.

From the preceding notices it appears, that the present coarbe of Richard Creagh in Armagh is the eighteenth who has occupied such an office in connection with that see; and that in like manner the present coarbe of Matthew de Oviedo in Dublin is the fifteenth in the succession connected with this latter see; including in each case the eminent individual with whom the dignity first originated. Lists of the names of similar persons connected with the other Irish sees, during the first hundred years after the establishment of the Reformed religion in Ireland, may be found in Nos. 66 and 68 inf.

Present position of the titular dignitaries of Armagh and Dublin.

No. XLV.

BULL OF POPE PIUS V. FOR THE DEPOSITION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Bull of
Pius V.,
A.D. 1569,
for the ex-
communi-
cation of
Queen El-
izabeth, &c.

The following document is so intimately connected with our Irish Ecclesiastical affairs of the period in which it was issued, that, not being of immoderate length, it appears well deserving of a place in the present collection. (Vid. p. 777 sup.)

“The Condemnation and Excommunication of Elizabeth, Queen of England, and her adherents, with the addition of other penalties, by Pope Pius the Fifth. (*Bull. Roman. tom. ii. p. 229. Ed. 1636. Foulis, Rom. Treasons, lib. 7, cap. 3. Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 377. Cardwell's Docum. Annals, i, No. 74. Oxfd. 1844.*)

“Pius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memorial of the matter.

The Pre-
tended au-
thority for
this docu-
ment.

“He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath entrusted one holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, by him to be governed in plenitude of power, namely, by Peter, prince of the apostles, and Peter's successor, the pontiff of Rome. Him alone he hath made prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build; that he may preserve in the unity of the spirit, the faithful people knit together in the bond of charity, and present them secure and inviolate before their Saviour.

Its alleged
motive.

“In the discharge of which office, we, who by the be-

nigh goodness of God, have been called to the government of the aforesaid Church, do omit no pains, labouring with all earnestness, that such unity and the Catholic religion, (whose Author hath permitted her, for the trial of His people's faith, and for our correction, to struggle with such fearful tempests,) may be still preserved in all integrity.

"But the number of the ungodly hath attained to such strength and power, that there is now no place left in the whole world, which they have not assayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines—that slave of crimes, **ELIZABETH**, pretended Queen of England, among others, using her utmost effects to promote this end; one with whom, as it were in an asylum, the very most mischievous characters of all mankind have found shelter and protection. This very woman, having seized on the throne, and monstrously usurping for herself the office of supreme head of the Church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath reduced again to a state of miserable destruction, that kingdom which was just then restored afresh to the privileges of the Catholic faith, and all the good fruits which it brings forth.

The "wickedness" of Queen Elizabeth set forth.

"For having by strong hand inhibited the exercise of the true religion, (which Mary, a rightful queen, of famous memory, had by the help of this see restored, after it had been already in time past overthrown by **HENRY VIII.**, a deserter therefrom,) and following and embracing the errors of heretics, she hath removed the royal Council consisting of the English nobility, and filled up their places with obscure men that are heretics; hath oppressed the adherents of the Catholic faith, setting up wicked preachers and ministers of ungodliness; hath abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, distinction of meats, celibacy, and Catholic rites; commanded books to be set forth in all the realm containing manifest heresy, and impious mysteries and institutions by her-

The pope makes a fuller exposure of her enormities and of his own temper;

self adopted and observed, according to the suggestions of Calvin, to be observed by her subjects also; presuming to eject bishops, rectors of churches, and other Catholic priests, from their churches and benefices, and to dispose of them, and of other church property, to heretical persons, and to determine upon Church causes, she hath forbidden the prelates, clergy, and people, to acknowledge the Church of Rome, or yield submission to her precepts and canonical sanctions; hath compelled the most part to give in to her nefarious laws, and to abjure the authority and obedience of the Roman pontiff, and to acknowledge her alone, upon oath, to be possessed of dominion in things temporal or spiritual; imposed penalties and punishments upon those which obeyed not her commands; and inflicted the like upon such as persevered in the unity of the faith and their obedience aforesaid; casting Catholic prelates and rectors of churches into prisons, where after long languishing and sorrow, their lives have been brought to a miserable end.

gives her
up, as hope-
lessly impe-
nitent ;

“ All which things being plainly evident and notorious to all nations, and by the gravest testimony of numberless witnesses so substantially proved, that there is no room whatsoever left for excuse, defence, or evasion; WE, seeing that fresh instances of deeds of impiety and crime are continually multiplying, one upon another; and moreover, that the persecution of the faithful, and affliction of religion is growing every day more oppressive through the means and instigation of the said ELIZABETH; and understanding also that her mind has become so hardened and obdurate, that she hath not only contemned the godly requests and admonitions of Catholic princes touching her amendment and conversion, but has refused to permit even the messengers of this see, when sent to her on this business, to pass over into England; constrained as we are to have recourse to the weapons of justice against her, are unable to mitigate our sorrow,

at being thus obliged to inflict punishment upon one whose ancestors have deserved so well of all Christendom.

"In dependence therefore on His authority who hath been pleased to appoint us, however unequal to so great a burden, to occupy this supreme throne of justice, We do, in the plenitude of our apostolical authority, declare the aforesaid ELIZABETH, as a heretic and favourer of heretics, and all who adhere to her in the practices aforesaid, to have incurred sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ.

pronounces
his anathema upon
her ;

"Moreover we declare her deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever.

pretends to
deprive her
of her kingdom ;

"And also the nobility, subjects, and people, of the said kingdom, and all others who have in any sort whatsoever made oath unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and from all manner of duty of dominion, fealty, and allegiance whatsoever ; as we do by authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the same ELIZABETH of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all the other matters aforesaid. And we do command and interdict, all and singular, the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws : any persons who shall do the contrary, we involve in a like sentence of anathema.

"absolves"
her subjects
of their allegiance ;

"And because it were a matter of too much difficulty, to convey these presents to all places where there shall be need of them, our will is, that the copies thereof, under the hand of a public notary, and stamped with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate or his court, shall be received with the same credit everywhere, judicially and extrajudicially, as would be commanded by these presents if they were exhibited or shewn.

and forbids
them, under
similar penalties, to
obey her
authority.

The mode
of publication
of this
Bull.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our

Lord's incarnation 1569, the fifth of the Calends of March, and of our popedom the fifth year.

"Cæ. Glorierius.

"H. Cumyn."

The date at the close, in our modern way of reckoning, and *according to the New Style*, would be Feb. 25, 1570. (Vid. *Foulis*, p. 331.)

No. XXVII.

BULL OF POPE GREGORY XIII. IN FAVOUR OF THE IRISH INSURRECTION AGAINST Q. ELIZABETH UNDER JAMES FITZ MAURICE.



"I. H. S.

Bull of P.
Gregory
XIII. A.D.
1569 in fa-
vour of the
rebellion of
J. Fitz
Maurice.

"*Copy of the Brief of our Most Holy Lord, GREGORY XIII. Pope, touching the faculty granted to JAMES GERALDINE, lord of Kiericourithi, for waging war against Elizabeth, pretended Queen of England, in favour of the Catholic faith.*"

"Gregory XIII, pope, to all the prelates, princes, earls, barons, and the entire clergy, nobility, and people, of the kingdom of Ireland, health and apostolical benediction.

The pope
expresses
his extraor-
dinary affec-
tion for the
Irish ;

"Of the different provinces of the Christian world, which are separated from us by a wide extent of intervening climes, the nation of the Irish is one which this apostolic see hath ever embraced with singular love and

peculiar affection, for the constancy of their fervent devotion, and their sincere and inviolable attachment to the Catholic religion, and the Church of Rome, manifested by them on so many occasions : under the influence of which motives we are so much the more sensibly affected at the vexations and afflictions of the said kingdom, and anxious, as much as in us lies, to provide at once for the liberty and peace of the people, as far as their persons are concerned, and at the same time for the salvation of their souls.

"Accordingly, as we have recently learned, to our exceeding great and heartfelt sorrow, from that excellent and eminent person, JAMES GERALDINE,—Lord of Kiericourithy, and governor general of Desmond in the absence of the Earl of Desmond,—what numberless and bitter hardships good men are there suffering, for their love to the orthodox faith, and in defence of the true religion, from ELIZABETH, who, hateful alike to God and man, domineers with proud and impious rule in England and in that island of Ireland ; and as the said James, influenced by zeal for the house of God, and his desire for the restoration of our holy religion, and by those principles of patriotism, courage, and magnanimity, with which nature has endowed him, is proposing with the Lord's help, to shake off from your necks a yoke of slavery so cruel and insupportable, and is hoping that he shall find many to aid him in a design and effort of such godly tendency ; WE therefore admonish and exhort you all and singular, by the bowels of the mercy of God, that recognising the seasonableness of this opportunity, you will each according to his power, give your strenuous aid in support of the piety and fortitude of such a leader, and not be afraid of a woman, who having been long ago bound with the chains of an anathema, and still increasing in her filthiness, has departed from the Lord ; and the Lord has departed from her, and many calamities shall overtake her, according to her deserts.

says he is
very sorry
to have
heard of
their sad
condition ;

begs them in
the name of
heaven to
resist the
"filthy"
Elizabeth ;

promising
them as
much favor
as they
could win
by slaugh-
tering
Turks ;

" And that you may be enabled to engage in this business with the greater alacrity, to all and singular who being contrite and confessing, or having the intention of confessing, shall follow the said general and his army, and join themselves thereto, for the asserting and defending of the Catholic faith ; or who shall aid this expedition and his holy purpose with counsel, countenance, provisions, arms, or in any way or by any means whatsoever, we do grant and bestow by our apostolic authority a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, in the same form as is commonly granted to those who set out for the wars against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land ; any of our apostolical constitutions and ordinances, or other laws whatsoever, of a contrary tendency, notwithstanding. "

and pro-
vides for the
publication
of this Epis-
tle.

" And in order that these letters may with more speed and facility come to the knowledge of all concerned, our pleasure is that copies thereof, manuscript or printed, and attested by the hand of a notary public, and by the seal of a church dignitary, shall be received with the same credit and confidence, as would be reposed in these presents, if they were exhibited or shewn.

" Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, the 25th day of February, one thousand, five hundred and seventy-seven.

"JOAN BAPTISTA CANNONIUS.
"SEPTIMIUS PACIS, *Apostolic*
Notary—"

The above document is given in *Phelan's Remains*, vol. ii. page 204, with this reference, " Evidence of his Grace the Abp. of Dublin, Lords Report, 776—" taken on the 13th of May, 1825, published separately by Tims, Grafton-street, Dublin, in the same year. For the original authority in the British Museum, (Lansdowne MSS.) See Art. 47, *inf.*

No. XLVI.

LETTER OF CARDINAL P. GALLIUS TO JAMES FITZMAURICE ON THE
STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

That such a wild military leader as the insurgent chieftain, James Fitzmaurice, should have been considered at Rome a trusty and prudent counsellor in matters relating to ecclesiastical appointments, will perhaps, at first sight, appear a little odd ; but may surprise us the less when we bear in mind, what were looked upon as the proper duties of a Roman ecclesiastic in those days, and how much of the military character was, in Ireland and elsewhere, necessarily involved in them. Pope Gregory's high opinion of James Fitz Maurice, indicated strongly in the preceding Bull, will be further evident from the letter here following, (extracted from Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, chap. LXXXIII. pp. 872, 873,) which is also interesting as illustrative of the method employed in those days for settling or disturbing Church affairs in Ireland, by Roman pontiffs, in conjunction with Irish insurgents.

J. Fitzmaurice a dealer in ecclesiastical as well as political transactions.
A.D. 1579.

"From the Letters of Cardinal Ptolemy Galli, entitled

of Como,* Secretary of State to Pope Gregory XIII. of holy memory, &c.

"To my lord James Geraldine.

C. Galli
begs to have
the benefit
of his advice
for the pope,
relative to
certain epis-
copal ap-
pointments.

"Illustrious lord, in brotherly regards. Your lordship is aware what a very anxious interest our most holy lord [Gregory] takes in the affairs of Ireland; especially in such matters as pertain to the conservation of the relics of the Catholic Faith, and the promoting of the salvation of souls in that realm. But while his Holiness is giving the subject his attentive consideration, and is of opinion that it is extremely necessary at the present time to provide proper pastors for those churches which have been destitute of them for this long time past, and in which, either in compliance with the popular will, or even with consent of the temporal lords of those districts where they are situated, the Catholic religion may be easily restored and maintained; he has nevertheless been unwilling to come to any decision relative to this matter, until he should ascertain what might be the judgment of your lordship, and of the bishops of Cork and Ross, (in whose faith and piety he reposes a deserved confidence,) relative, as well to the churches aforesaid, as also to those persons who may be found competent for the government of them, whether in the island, or beyond its limits.

A list of candidates is forwarded to J. Fitzmaurice for his consideration.

"Your lordship therefore will please be careful to write back word, as soon as possible, intimating what may be your sense and opinion of this matter; which that you may be able to do the more satisfactorily, we send you a list of the names of sundry individuals that have been recommended to his Holiness. You will also be good enough to have the letters, which we have given directions for sending along with these, conveyed to the bishops of Cork and Ross aforesaid, and to have the an-

* "An episcopal city in the Duchy of Milan." Burke.

swer afterwards transmitted to us. On other topics I have nothing to add, save only that our prayers are offered unceasingly to God for the welfare and peace of all of you. Good health attend your lordship, to whom I heartily commend myself. Rome, the 6th day of April, 1579."

This letter therefore was written in the same year in which Fitzmaurice met with his death.

No. XLVII.

LETTER OF N. SANDERS TO THE IRISH PEOPLE.

The following remarkable document is here given, as copied from the "*Original Letters illustrative of English History*," of H. Ellis, Esq., F.R.S., &c., 2nd series, vol. 3. Lond. 1827; in which it occurs as Letter CCXVI., pp. 92 seqq., with the title, "*Father Sanders the Jesuit to the Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland to stir them to rebellion*."

This letter published in Mr. H. Ellis's *Original Letters*.

p. 94. "To the righthonorable and Catholike Lords and Worshipfull Gentilmen of Irland, N. Sander, D. of Divinitie wisheth all felicitie, A.D. 1580.

"Pardon me I beseeche you, if upon just cawse I use the same words to your honors and worships, which S. Pawle wrote somtyme to the Galatians: 'Who hath enchanted you, not to obey the Truthe?' for if you be not bewitched, what meane you to fight for hæresie against the true faith of Christ, for the Devil against Sanders abuses the Irish for their loyalty to the

"wicked"
Elizabeth,

threatening
them with
vengeance
from "the
next Catho-
like heire to
the crowne,"
and from
"the pope's
lieutenant."

God, for Tyrans that robbe you of your goods, lands, lives, and everlasting salvation, against your own brethren, who daylie spend their goods and shed their blood to deliver you from these miseries? What meane you, I say, to be at so great charges, to take so great paynes, and to put yourselves in so horrible daunger of bodie and sowle, for a wicked woman, neither begotten in true wedlock, nor esteeming her christendom, and therefore deprived by the vicar of Christ, her and your lawful judge; forsaken of God, who justifieth the sentence of his Vicar; forsaken of all Catholike princes whom she hath injured intolerably; forsaken of divers Lords, Knights, and Gentilmen of England, who ten yeres past toke the sword against her, "and yet stand in the same quarel? See you not that she is without a lawful heire of her own bodie, who may either reward her friends or avenge her enemies? See you not that she is such a shamefull reproche to the royal crown, that whoso is in dede a frind to the Crown, shuld so muche the more hasten to dispossesse her of the same? See you not that the next Catholike heire to the Crowne (for the pope will take order by Gd's grace that it shall rest in none other but Catholikes) must accompt all them for traytors that spend their goods in mainteining an heretike against his true title and right? What wil ye answer to the Pope's Lieutenent, when he bringing us the Pope's and other Catholike princes ayde (as shortly he will) shall charge you with the crime and payne of heretiks, for mainteining an heretical prætensed Queen against the publike sentence of Christes vicar? Can she with her feined supremacie (which the devil instituted in Paradise, when [he] made Eve Adam's maistresse in God's matters)

* "Alluding to the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569."

absolve and acquiet you from the Pope's excommunication and curse? Shall yee not rather stayne yourselves and your noble howses withthe suspicion of hæresie and Treason? in which case if the Catholike heire to the Royal Crowne call upon the execution of the Lawes of the Church, you shall for the maintenance of hæresie loose your goods, your lands, your honors, and undoe your wives, your children, and your Howses for ever. God is not mocked. The longer it is before he punish, the more hard and severe shal his punishment be. Do you not see before your eyes that becawse king Henry the Eighth brake the Unitie of Christes Church his Howse is now cut off and ended? And think you that mayntaining the heresie which he beganne, you shall not bring your own howses to the like end that his hath? Marke likewise Sir William Drurie's end, who was the General against the pope's armie, and think not our part to weake seeing God fighteth for us. And surely wheras we had once both monie, men, and armour to beginne this battell withall; God by most strange meanes (which to recite in this place it were to tediousse) tooke them all from us, and sent us hether in manner naked, to th' end it shuld be evident unto all the World that this warr is not the warr of man (which is always most puissant in the beginning as most armies, begunne with greater power than afterward it is main-teind,) but the Warr of God, who of small beginnings worketh wonderfull end. Whom I beseche to open your eyes, that, whiles tyme is, you maye openly confesse and honor him more than Heretikea. The XXI. of Feb. 1580."

He tells them Henry VIII.'s family became extinct, as a judgment for his heresy.

On this Epistle, Mr. Ellis has the following annotations :—

"[MS. Lansd. 96, art. 39, orig.] Camden has given an account of the Expedition which in 1579 carried Fa- account of

the circumstances connected with the visit of Sanders to Ireland.

ther Sanders to Ireland. He says, 'In Munster, a province of Ireland, James Fitz Morris raised a new rebellion; the same James which a while before falling upon his knees before Perott, president of Munster, had with lamentable howlings and humble intreaties begged his pardon, and most religiously vowed his fidelity and obedience to the Queen. This man (who was never well but in troubles) had withdrawn himself into France, promising the king that if he would assist him, he would unite all Ireland to the sceptre of France, and restore the Romish religion in that Isle. But being wearied out with delays, and in the end laughed at, he went from France into Spain, and made the same promises to the Catholic king. The king sent him over to the bishop of Rome; from whom having (at the earnest solicitation of Sanders, an English priest, and Allen, an Irish one, both of them Doctors in Divinity) gotten a little money, *the authority of a legate granted to SANDERS*, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the Spaniard, he returned into Spain, and from thence arrived about the first day of July, *with those two divines*, three ships, and a small body of men at Saint Mary Wick, (which the Irish contractedly call Smerwick) in Kerry, a peninsula in Ireland, where in a place solemnly consecrated by the priests, he erected a fort, and drew up his ships close under: which ships Thomas Courtney an English gentleman, who lay by chance at anchor with a man of war in a road hard by, soon after set upon, took, and carried away, and deprived the Spaniards of the benefit of the sea. [Camd. Hist. Eliz., p. 236.]

One of his original indulgences still extant.

"One of the original printed indulgences granted by the pope on this occasion to those who should join the Irish rebels, preparatory to the expedition, is still preserved in the same volume of the Lansdowne Collection, with Father Sanders's Letter; and bears date in 1577. It is indorsed in Lord Burghley's hand, '*Bulla contra*

Regiam for Jam. Fitz Moris.' It has at the bottom, a wafer seal of one of the Cardinals, and is further attested by one of the apostolic notaries. The letters J. H. S. at the beginning, have the cross above and the nails below encircled with a glory." [MS. Lans. 96, Art. 53.]

Then follows in Mr. Ellis's work the Bull itself of Pope Gregory XIII., here referred to, just as it has been already given to the reader of this volume in Art. XXVII. p. 1262 sup.

No. XLVIII.

LIST OF THE PRELATES WHO WERE PRESENT IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT OF A.D. 1585.

The following catalogue of the spiritual peers who attended the parliament held in Dublin in the year 1585 is given in the Irish Annals contained in the *Loftus MS.* in Marsh's Library, Dublin, under that year; and appears of sufficient interest and rarity to find a place here. It will be found to throw a little additional light on the state of some, at least, of the Irish sees, (Ardfert, for instance, and Killala,) at the time, beyond what can be derived from the labours of Ware and Harris, whose attention would appear

Prelates in the parliament of A.D. 1585, from the Loftus MS.

not to have been directed to this particular document. (Vid. No. XXV. sup.)

1585. "The Names of the Lds. Spiritt. and Temporall wh. sat in Parliament at Dublin y^e 20th of Aprill before Sr John Perrot y^e Ld Deputy of Ireland."

"The L'ds Spill

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. John Long, Archbp. of Armagh, totius Hibernia Primas. | 11. Daniel Cavenagh Eps. Leighlinensis. |
| 2. Adam Loftus, Archbp. of Dublin, Canr. Hib'nie. | 12. Gulielmus Lyon, eps. Rosensis. |
| 3. Mellerus Magrath, archieps. Cassel and eps. Imolanensis. | 23. Roland Lynch, eps. Clonsfertensis. |
| 4. Gulielmus Laly, Archieps. Tuamensis. | 14. Maritius O'Brian Eps. Lao-nensis. |
| 5. Thos. Jones eps. Midensis. | 15. Episcop' Connerensis vacant. |
| 6. Daniel Neylan, eps. Darenis. | 16. Episcopus Alladensis. |
| Y ^e bishopric of Ossory at this time vacant, for 9 months, then succeeded John Horsfall. | 17. Ja. Fitzmorris eps. Ardfer-tensis. |
| 7. Hugh Allen eps. Fernensis. | 18. Episcopus Dromorensis. |
| 8. Jo: Thornburgh; eps. Limricensis. | 19. Episcopus Ropotensis. |
| 9. Jo: Lynch eps. Elphinensis. | 20. Episcopus Clogherensis. |
| 10. Episcop' Duacensis vacat. | 21. Episcopus Cluanensis. |
| | 22. Episcopus Kilmorensis." |

No. XXVIII.

BULL OF POPE GREGORY XIII., INCITING THE IRISH TO AID IN THE REBELLION AGAINST Q. ELIZABETH UNDER JOHN OF DESMOND.

Bull of P.
Gregory
XIII.
A.D. 1580.

The document placed before the reader in this article may be seen in the original form in O'Sullivan, tom. ii. lib. 4, cap. 17, pp. 100, 101; in O'Daly, (Dom. de Rosario) *Relatio Geraldinorum Hyberniæ*, Ulyssip. 1658, pp. 75—78;

Mac Geoghegan, *Histoire*, &c., vol. iii. p. 437 ;
Amsterd. 1763 ; or in Foulis's *History of Ro-
mish Treasons*, p. 306. London, 1681.

"Gregory XIII., pope, to all and singular the Arch-
bishops, Bishops, and other prelates, and also to the
Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, Nobility, and People of
the kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Bene-
diction.

Gregory re-
cites the for-
mer bull in
favour of J.
Fitzmau-
rice ; (*Art.*
XXVII.
sup.)

"Whereas in these years last past we have by our
letters exhorted you to give your utmost aid, (in order
to the recovery of your liberty, and the defence and pre-
servation thereof against the heretics,) to James GERALDINE,
of worthy memory, who was planning measures, in
aspirit of the most fervent zeal, for shaking off the cruel
yoke of bondage imposed on you by the English deserters
from the Holy Roman Church, and to support him with
promptness and energy in his preparations for making
war on God's enemies and yours ;

"And whereas to encourage you to engage in this ser-
vice with greater alacrity, we made a grant to all, who
being contrite and confessing, should follow the aforesaid
General James and his army, and join themselves thereto
for the purpose of asserting the Catholic faith, and fight-
ing its battles, or support his cause in this expedition,
by their counsel, countenance, military stores, arms, and
other necessities of war, or in any manner whatsoever,
of a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the
same privileges which have usually been bestowed by the
Roman pontiffs, on those who set out for the war against
the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land ;

alludes to
the privi-
leges it be-
stowed on
his follow-
ers ;

"And whereas further, tidings have been recently re-
ceived by us, not without deep distress of mind on our
part, that the aforesaid James hath been slain, (as it
pleased the Lord,) in a valiant encounter with the ene-

and pro-
mises a con-
tinuance of
them to
John GERALDINE

dine and his men ; my ; and that our beloved son, John Geraldine, his kinsman, a person of exemplary piety and heroism, which are to be attributed to God, whose cause is now at issue, hath succeeded to him in this expedition, and hath already performed many noble acts in his worthy struggle for the Catholic faith, We, therefore, in the strongest manner of which we are capable, exhort, require, and urge you in the Lord, all and singular, that you study to aid the aforesaid General John and his army, against the said heretics, by every means in your power, according to the admonitions which we addressed to you for the regulation of your conduct toward the said James while he was yet alive.

who were to be treated as equally meritorious with Turk-exterminators.

“ For we, in dependance on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul his apostles, do grant, and by these presents bestow on all and singular of you, who having confessed and communicated, shall do the things contained in the letter aforesaid, for the said John and his army, or who after his death, (if it should haply occur, which God vouchsafe to avert,) shall adhere to and favour his brother James, the same plenary indulgence and remission of all your sins, as they obtain who engage in the war against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land, these privileges to continue in force so long as the said brothers John and James shall survive.

The mode of publication of this Bull.

“ And whereas it would be difficult for these our letters to come to the notice of all whom they may concern, our pleasure is that the printed copies thereof also, after having been subscribed by the hand of a notary public, and stamped with the seal of a Church dignitary, shall be received every where with the same full and implicit confidence, as if these presents had been exhibited or shewn.

“ Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the Ring of the

Fisherman, the 13th day of May, 1580, in the eighth year of our Pontificate.

“CÆS. GLORIERIUS.”

In O’Sullivan, this document is attested as follows :—

“The above letter, extracted from its original printed on a stamp, was corrected and collated by me Alfonso de Serna, Notary public by the apostolic and ordinary authority, as well as notary of the Archives in the Court of Rome, in the town of Madrid, of the diocese of Toledo, on the xiiij day of October, MDLXXXX.”

Its authenticity formally testified.

No. XLIX.

LETTER OF JAMES, THE “SAGAN” EARL OF DESMOND, TO THE KING OF SPAIN, MENTIONED AT P. 836 OF THIS WORK.

(From Foulis, *History*, &c., p. 308, where this document is accompanied with the following introductory notice :—)

[1599. Essex having left Ireland.] “Tiroen takes opportunity to break the cessation, falls to open war, to which he was encouraged by the promises of the Spaniards and the letter of the Pope; and thus puffed up, he looks upon himself as monarch of all Ireland, and so makes James Fitz Thomas Earl of Desmond, as one who was a professed enemy to the English government, but slave enough to the Spaniards, though he hated his own Queen, as appears by his slanders against her and

Notice of some particulars connected with the following record.

his respect to Philip, as the following letters will testify:—

Letter of
the Sagan
Earl to the
king of
Spain,
(A.D. 1599.)

complaining
that Q. Elizabeth
was
worse than
Pharaoh,

and far
more wicked
than Nero.

Next follows a modest notice of the writer's own services.

'To the most mighty monarch of the world, the great King of Spain, give this at his princely Palace of Madrid.

'Most mighty Monarch,

'I humbly salute your imperial majesty, giving your Highness to understand of our great misery, and violent order wherewith we are of long time oppressed by the English nation; Their government is such, as Pharaoh himself never used the like; for they content not themselves with all temporal superiority, but by cruelty desire our blood, and perpetual destruction, to blot out the whole remembrance of our posterity, as also our old Catholick religion, and to swear that the Queen of England is supreme of the Church.

'I refer the consideration thereof to your Majesties high judgment, the rather, for that Nero in his time was far inferiour to this Queen in cruelty. Wherefore and for the respects thereof, Right mighty potentate, myself with my followers and retainers, and being also requested by the bishops, prelates, and religious men of my country, have drawn my sword, and proclaimed wars against them, for the recovery first of Christ's Catholick religion, and next for the maintenance of my own right, which of long time hath been wrongfully detained from me and my father, who by right succession was lawful heir to the earldom of Desmond; for he was eldest son to James, my grandfather, also earl of Desmond: and for that my uncle Gerald, (being the younger brother,) took part with the wicked proceedings of the Queen of England, to farther the unlawful claim of supremacy, usurped the name of earl of Desmond in my father's true title; yet notwithstanding, he had not long enjoyed his name of Earl, when the wicked English annoyed him, and prosecuted wars, that he with the most part of those that held of his side

was slain, and his country thereby planted with Englishmen. And now by the just judgment and providence of God, I have utterly rooted these malepert bowse out of the orchard of my country, and have profited so much in my proceedings, that my dasterly Enemies dare not shew their faces in any part of my country; but having taken my towns and cities for their refuge and strength, where they do remain, as it were prisoners, for want of means to assail them, as cannon and powder which my country cannot yield. [*sic.*]

'Having these wants, most noble potentate, I have presumed with all humility, to address these my letters to your high majesty, craving the same of your gracious clemency and goodness, to assist me in this godly enterprise, with some help of such necessities for the wars, as your majesty shall think requisite; and (after the quiet of my country) satisfaction shall be truly made for the same, and myself in person, with all my forces, shall be ready to serve your highness in any country your majesty shall command me.

He begs aid from the Spanish monarch,

'And if your majesty will vouchsafe to send me a competent number of souldiers, I will place them in some of my towns and cities, to remain in your gracious disposition, till such time as my ability shall make good what your majesty shall lend me in money and munition; and also your majesties high commission under the broad seal for leading and conducting these souldiers, according to the prescript order and articles of martial discipline, as your majesty shall appoint me, and as the service of this land shall require. I praise the Almighty God, I have done by his goodness, more than all my predecessors; for I have reclaimed all the nobility of this part of Ireland under the dutiful obedience of Christ's Church, and mine own authority; and accordingly have taken pledges, and corporal oaths,* never to swerve

including a body of troops, on certain conditions.

A word more of his own exploits.

* Vid. p. 1115, *not. sup.*

and one beside, of his remaining wants.

from the same; and would have sent them to your majesty by this bearer, but that the ship was not of sufficiency nor strength to carry so noble personages; and will send them whensoever your highness please.

'So there resteth nothing to quiet this part of the world, but your majestie's assistance, which I daily expect. Thus most mighty monarch, I humbly take my leave, and do kiss your royal hands, beseeching the Almighty of your majestie's health and happiness.

'Your Majesty's most humble
at all command,

'JAMES DESMOND.' "

'From my camp the
14th of March, 1599.

"*A true copy, agreeing with the
original, examined by Thos. }
White, Mayor of Waterford.*" }

Then follows in Foulis another letter, from the same to the same, and of same date, but of less interest. (p. 309 *ib.*)

No. L.

LETTER OF HUGH O'NEILL TO THE LORD BARRY, SCOLDING HIM FOR HIS LOYALTY

Occasion of
the following
Epistle.
A.D. 1599.

A. D. 1599, O. S. A little before the landing of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy in Ireland (on February the 24th, 1599), O'Neill made a journey into Munster to encourage the decided friends of his cause, take pledges of the dubious, and

prosecute the loyal with fire and sword, &c. Of the latter class was Lord Barry, whom failing to seduce to rebellion, "he preyed, burned and spoiled;" on which occasion he also wrote to him the letter here following; (from Sir George Carew's *Pacata Hibernia*. Lond. 1633, p. 20.)

"My lord Barry, your impietie to God, crueltie to your soule and bodie, tyrannie and ingratitude both to your followers and country are inexcusable and intolerable. You separated yourself from the unitie of Christ's mysticall bodie, the Catholicke Church. You know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head as well as ours, if things fall out other wayes than well; you are the cause, why all the nobilitie of the South (from the East part to the West) you being linked unto each one of them either in affinitie or consanguinitie, are not linked together to shake of the cruell yoake of heresie and tyrannie, with which our soules and bodies are oppressed; all those aforesaid depending of your resolution, and relying to your judgment in this common cause of our Religion and countrey, you might forsooth with their helpe (and the rest that are combyned in this holy action) not onely defend your selfe from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also by God's assistance (who miraculously and above all expectation gave goode successe to the cause principally undertaken for his glorie, exaltation of religion, next for the restauration of the ruines, and preservation of the countrey,) expell them, and deliver them and us from most miserable and cruell exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safetie of Wife and children, life, lands and goods, which all are in hazard, through your folly, and want of due consideration: Enter I beseech you into the closet of your conscience, and like a wise man weigh seriously the end of your actions, and

O'Neill complains that the extensive influence of Lord Barry withheld many from disloyalty to the Queen;—

and urges him to rebel.

take advise of those that can instruct you, and informe you better than your owne private judgment can leade you into. Consider and read with attention and settled minde, this discourse I sende you that it may please God to set open your eyes, and graunt you a better minde. From the Campe this instant Tuesday the Sixt of March according to the new computation. I pray you to send mee the papers I sent you assoone as your Honor shall reade the same.

O'NEALE."

No. LI.

THE LORD BARRY IN REPLY TO THE PRECEDING, ETC.

(*Curew, ut sup.*, pp. 21, 22.)

Lord Barry gratefully acknowledges his obligations to her Majesty.

A.D. 1599.

"Your letters I received, and if I had answered the same as rightfully they might be answered, you should have as little like therof as I should mislike or feare any thing by you threatned against me; (which manner of answere, leaving to the construction and consideration of all those that are fully possessed with the knowledge of the law of duetie to God and man.) You may understand hereby briefly my mind to your objections, in this manner; How I am undoubtedly persuaded in my conscience, that by the law of God and his true religion I am bound to hold with her majestie: *Her highnesse hath never restrained me for matters of religion*, and as I felt her maiesties indifferencie and clemencie therein, I have not spared to releeve poore Catholikes with duetifull succour, which well considered, may assure any well disposed mind, that if duety had not, (as it doth) yet kindnesse and courtesie should bind me to remember and requite to my power, the benefits by me received at her maiestie's

hands : you shal further understand, that I hold my lordships and lands, immediately under God, of her maiestie and her most noble progenitors, by corporall service, and of none other, by very ancient tenour ; which service and tenour, none may dispenche withall, but the true possessor of the Crowne of England, being now our Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. And though yee by some overweening imaginations, have declined from your dutiful allegiance unto her highnesse ; yet I have settled my selfe never to forsake her : Let fortune never so much rage against me, shee being my anointed prince, and would to God you had not so farre raune to such desperate and erronious wayes, offending God and her maiestie : who hath so well deserved of you, and I would pray you to enter into consideration thereof, and with penitent hearts to reclaime yourselves hoping that her Highnesse, of her accustomed clemency, would be gracious to you, wherein I leave you to your owne compunction and consideration. And this much I must challenge you, for breach of your word in your letter, by implication inserted that your forces have spoiled part of my countrey, and preyed them to the number of foure thousand kine, and three thousand mares and gerrans, and taken some of my followers prisoners, within the time by you assigned unto mee to come unto you. by your said word (if yee regard it) I require restitution of my spoile, and prisoners, and after (unless you bee better advised, for your loyalty) use your discretions against me and mine, and spare not if you please, for I doubt not, with the help of God, and my prince, to bee quit with some of you hereafter, though now not able to use resistance : And so wishing you to become true and faithfull subjects to God and your prince, I end. at Barry Court this twenty sixe of February 1599."

His honest purpose to continue in his duty.

He charges O'Neill with falsehood and robbery.

In this correspondence, Lord Barry as a British subject uses the old style, the new not having

Note on the dates of this Epistle and

the preced-
ing.

been at that time as yet introduced into these countries, while the insurgent leader on the contrary makes use of the Roman style. This accounts for the above letter appearing to have an earlier date than that in the preceding article. According to the new style, Lord Barry's date should have been March the 7th, 1560, (adding ten days as the correction then required in the year, and bearing in mind that 1600 was a leap year.)

No. LII.

LETTER OF O'NEILL, JAMES, THE 'SUGAN EARL,' ETC. TO THE POPE.

(From Carew's *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 175, 176. A very corrupt copy of the same is given by Foulis in his work.)

H. O'Neill,
&c. profess
their deter-
mination to
restore their
country to
papal bond-
age.
A.D. 1600.

"Most holy father, seeing that we have been roused of late years by the providence and will of God, to make exertions for the recovery of this kingdom from the sorely oppressive yoke of the English, who have now for many ages overspread the face of religion and of the country with tyranny and violence; and that we have now, after exhausting many perils, been at length successful in shaking off that yoke for the most part; we would explain to your Holiness that our first and principal care

has been, and ever will be, to bring about a complete restoration of the state of the Church, almost wholly extinct as it has been in this country, and to raise it again from its ruins; so judging with ourselves, that it was our duty to spend all our substance, and life itself, in promoting this work, which we use our efforts, (not to say, we are compelled) to accomplish with the more alacrity for this reason, that unless we were to have met the common evil affecting both our church and state, with some timely remedy, we should have been dealt with far worse than the Turks are wont to deal with the Christians who fall into their power; so that we should have made up our minds, either to go into exile, or else meet our fate here. Matters therefore being reduced to this emergency, to whom can we (or ought we,) address ourselves or make our applications for aid, with more sanguine hope or on surer grounds, than to thee, Father of Spirits upon earth, that thou mayest succour thy spiritual children, still miserably afflicted, and bruised under a yoke far more weighty and cruel than ever Pharaoh's was. Such relief we do trust that we shall obtain from thy clemency, according to the example of all the afflicted, who, appealing to thy see under the like unfortunate circumstances, have met with aid and remedy according to their need.

and beg the
bp. of Rome,
as "the Fa-
ther of Spi-
rits on
earth," to
assist their
efforts.

"To thee therefore, the common parent of all the afflicted, their kind and tenderhearted father, and that especially of such as are in trouble for the faith sake,—to thee as our only refuge and securest asylum, we flee for shelter, and humbly supplicate with copious tears, that our groans may be heard, our petitions attended to, and our demands conceded; that their mouths may be stopped and their power broken, who have ill will against Sion, and hinder the demolished walls of Jerusalem from being re-edified anew: wherein, if your holiness will vouchsafe to credit our assertion, none of our ancestors, from the time that this realm fell into the hands of the English,

Pretending,
or ignorant-
ly suppos-
ing, their no-
tions to be
such as St.
Patrick
would have
counten-
anced, they
profess to be
influenced
by spiritual
motives
only.

were ever more attached than we are, to the faith delivered to us by our apostle St. Patrick, or more determined, *extinct as it has been, alas! in these parts*, and well nigh buried,—now that we have so far shaken off the yoke of the English, to raise it again to life, and promote its growth, extention and amplification; for in these cherished views we have no other object, than to see the glory of God and the exaltation of the orthodox faith: may your holiness then vouchsafe to lend a favourable ear to these our supplications, addressed to you by men, who despising all honours and advantages whatsoever, desire not to live a day longer than we may see the Church of God flourishing all over the entire world.

They ask to have titular bishops appointed for "the vacant sees" of Ireland; particularly in Munster,

"First then we have to express our desires that in order to the furtherance and increase of the faith, *appointments may be made to the vacant sees in this kingdom*, of those individuals who are distinguished for their life, morals, and literary attainments, and who labour most with us in promoting the interests of the faith, whom also the right reverend the bishop of Cork and Cloyne united with us in nominating and recommending, as fit pastors to instruct the flock of God by their word and example"; for fear that *an opening may be left for the coming in of unworthy persons, who may perhaps intrude themselves into the charge over souls without due respect for canonical order, and yet with all possible authority and pomp*. In presenting which petition we are influenced by the very serious damage to souls, which our people are subjected to by reason of the scarcity of pastors in the two provinces of Munster, a country which comprehends eleven bishoprics under the metropolis of Cashel; for we do not include the reverend prelate of Cork and Cloyne, who is now well nigh exhausted from

* Vid. No. XLVI. p. 1266, sup. The "bishop of Cork and Cloyne" here noticed was, I suppose, Edmund Tanner, vid. 68, inf. and Brem. II. 123.

his age and troubles. And we urge our petition the more confidently from this consideration, that *the prelates who have been elected, consecrated, and sent over to us from your holy see, to occupy vacant sees in these parts, are by us defended in the same*, by God's grace, to the utmost of our power, that they may be enabled in safety to take the oversight of the flocks committed to their charge.

"Furthermore, we desire, that as the Supreme Pontiff *and in fine,* Pius the Fifth, of happy memory, issued his Bull of ex-communication against the Queen of England and her abettors; as also GREGORY XIII. continued the same, to have a renewal of the Bull of "Excommunication" of their Queen, and announced that it was to have force in the war of the Geraldines; so your holiness may be pleased to issue a like sentence for promoting this war, and bringing it to a prosperous issue. And now we commend generally to your holiness, with feelings of the strongest attachment of which we are capable, *this your kingdom*, depending on you alone after God, and ourselves your humble subjects, together with our proctors the bearers of these presents, whom we depute on behalf of ourselves, and in our name, and who will more fully set forth, at large and authentically, by oral communication, all the achievements that we have, with aid of their exertions and learning, performed in this war. Praying that your holiness may be pleased to repose implicit faith in their statements, we are &c.

Your holiness's most obedient sons and most faithful subjects,

"O'Neale.

"James Desmond,

"Mac Cartie More. [Florence]

"Dermond Mac Cartie, *alias* Mac Donogh."

"Dated in our Catholic Camp, the }
30th of March, 1600. }

No. XXIX.

BULL OF POPE CLEMENT VIII. EXCITING THE IRISH TO JOIN IN
THE REBELLION OF H. O'NEILL.

Clement
lands highly
the activity
of the Irish
in obeying
his exhorta-
tions to re-
bellion.
A.D. 1600.

“CLEMENT VIII. pope, to All and Singular, our venerable brethren the Archbishops, Bishops, and prelates; also to our beloved children, the Princes, Earls, Barons, and people of the kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical benediction.

“Whereas we have learned, that in pursuance of the exhortations addressed to you this some while past, by the popes of Rome our predecessors, and by ourselves and the apostolic see, for the recovering of your liberty, and the defence and preservation of the same against the attacks of heretics, you have with united hearts and efforts, followed, and supplied with aid and assistance, first JAMES GERALDINE of worthy memory, (who to the utmost of his power exerted himself, as long as he lived, with most spirited resolution, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed upon you by the English deserters from the Holy Roman Church;) after that JOHN GERALDINE, kinsman of the said JAMES; and most recently our beloved son, the noble lord HUGH, Prince O'NEAL, styled Earl Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon, and Captain General of the Catholic army in Ireland, and Whereas further, the Generals themselves and their soldiers have in progress of time, the hand of the Lord of Hosts assisting them, achieved very many noble exploits in valiant combat with the enemy, and are still ready for the like hereafter;

H. O'Neill's
followers to
have pardon
of sin, and

“We therefore, (to encourage you, and the General and soldiers aforesaid to exert yourselves with the more alacrity for the time to come also, in giving your assist-

ance to this expedition against the heretics aforesaid) having a desire to confer upon you spiritual graces and favours, after the example set us by our predecessors aforesaid, and in dependance on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul His apostles, Do mercifully grant in the Lord to you all and singular (if truly penitent and confessing, and likewise refreshed, if it be possible, with the Holy Communion,) who shall follow the said General Hugh and his army, the champions and asserters of the Catholic faith, and who shall join yourselves to their number, or give them help in this expedition by your Counsel, Countenance, Military Stores, Arms, and other implements of War, or in any mode whatsoever; and also to the said General HUGH and the soldiers of his army all and singular, [on the like terms] a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, and the same privileges as have been usually conceded by the popes of Rome to those who set out for the war against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land: our decretals concerning the not granting of indulgences in such form, and on the occasion of receiving the Jubilee year's indulgences, and any other apostolical constitutions and ordinances &c. to the contrary, (if this be requisite,) notwithstanding.

all other favours usually bestowed on the Crusaders.

"And inasmuch as it would be difficult for these our presents to come to the knowledge of all whom they may concern, our pleasure is, that the printed copies thereof also, after having been subscribed by the hand of a notary public, and confirmed by the seal of a Church Dignitary, shall be received every where with the same reliance on their authority, as would be commanded by production of the original.

The mode of publication of the Epistle.

"Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 18th day of April 1600, in the IXth year of our Pontificate.

"M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS."

The original of this document may be seen in Foulis, pp. 479, 480; Mac Geoghegan, vol. iii. p. 548; or among the documents in the '*Collection of Records*' at the end of Collier's *Eccl. History*, No. 97.

No. LIII.

LETTER OF DONOUGH (MAC CORMIO) CARTIE TO THE KING OF SPAIN.

M. de Oviedo the bearer of this letter.
A.D. 1601.

[Foulis, p. 483. Mateo de Oviedo being now in Ireland, and calling himself Archbishop of Dublin, wrote to the titular Earl of Desmond, James Fitz Thomas, a letter encouraging him "to fight constantly and valiantly for the Faith and Liberty of your country, knowing and firmly hoping that the help of my Lord the Catholique king is now coming, which when it cometh, all things shall be prosperous." He observes, *ib.*, that he is just going to Spain. The letter, given by Foulis in full, is dated "From Donegall the 18th of Jan. 1601."]

[Carew gave the rebels some trouble at this time:] "yet their plottings go on; and at the desire of Florence Mac Cartie, Donogh Mac Cormock (who called himself also Cartie) sent this letter the king of Spain.

F. Mac Cartie solicits aid from Spain against Q. Elizabeth.

"Having received directions from the earl of Clan-care, I would not omit this opportunity, at the departure of the Archbishop of Dublin [Oviedo] and don Martin de la Creda, to make known to your majesty how the said earl hath written to your majesty by two or three ways; but understanding that these letters came not to your royal hands, he hath now again written by me to your majesty making offer as well of his person and lands, as

of his vassals and subjects, to your Royal service, humbly beseeching your Majesty to receive, favour, and aid him with your power and liberal hand, seeing there is no other that can and will assist us better against the heretics in this Holy enterprise.

"Your Majesties loyal vassal, to kiss
"your Royal Hand
DONOGHE CARTIE."

"From Donegall the
"5 of January 1601."

No. XXX.

LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO H. O'NEILL, COMPLIMENTING HIM ON THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF HIS REBELLION, ETC.

(In MacGeoghegan, tom. iii. p. 588, Amst. 1763. Foulis, p. 482. Phelan gives an English version of it in his usual inaccurate style. *Remains*, ii. 236)

"To our beloved son, the noble Prince HUGH O'NEILL, commander and Captain General of the Catholic army in Ireland.

"Beloved son and noble sir, health and apostolical benediction.

"We have learned from the letter of your eminence, as well as from the information orally communicated to us by our beloved son PETER LOMBARD, provost of Cambray, that the holy League which you and many other princes and Chieftains, and leading noblemen of that kingdom have, in the goodness of God, been led to estab-

Clement VIII. congratulates H. O'Neill, &c. on their successful insurrection against the "apostate English,"

and com-
mends them
as worthy
children of
their an-
cient proge-
nitores.

lish among yourselves, still continues to hold together in the cement of charity, and to go on increasing, and that by the aid and might of the same Lord of Hosts, you have on divers occasions been successful in battle against the English, those apostates from the Church and from the faith. Great pleasure in the Lord have we received from this intelligence; and offered up our thanks to that God the Father of mercies, who has still left to himself in that kingdom many thousands that have not bowed the knee to Baal. For these have never gone after impious heresies and profane novelties, but on the contrary fight bravely in detestation of them, for the inheritance of their fathers, for the preservation of the faith, for the maintenance of integrity and unity with the Church, which is one, Catholic, and Apostolic, out of which there is no salvation. We praise, dear son, the excellent spirit of piety and bravery manifested by yourself, and by the Princes and all others, who having engaged in this league and confederacy with you, shrink not from encountering any dangers whatsoever for the glory of God; and prove and openly profess themselves worthy descendants, and proper successors of their ancestors, men eminently famous for their warlike bravery, zeal for the Catholic religion, and glorious renown. Preserve, children, such a spirit; preserve your unanimity and concord, and God Almighty, the God of harmony and peace, shall be with you, and fight for you, and will prostrate, as he hath done heretofore, His enemies before our face.

He promises
to recom-

“And as for ourselves, loving and cherishing as we do in the bowels of Jesus Christ, your highness, and all of you who imitate the faith and glory of your forefathers, we cease not to beseech our God for your prosperity and welfare, and we are and ever will be interested in you and for you, so far as God will enable us to be thus minded. And when there shall be occasion, we will write effective letters to the Catholic kings and

princes, our children, that they support you and your cause with all the aid in their power; we propose also to send to you shortly a special nuncio from ourselves, and from this holy College, (in which the Providence of God hath appointed us, however unworthy, to preside) a man of piety and prudence, possessed of a zeal for God, and approved of by us, to attest our high respect for you, and lend you aid, in all cases where there may be occasion, for the maintaining of your salutary and necessary union, propagating the Catholick faith, and performing in fine all offices connected with his function, whereby the honour and worship of God may be promoted in that kingdom.

"Meanwhile it seemed good to us to forward to you these our letters as pledges of our affection towards yourselves and that kingdom, and as a means of administering to you all, as our dear children in Christ, the consolations of our fatherly kindness. And as for PETER LOMBARD whom your eminence has appointed to be your orator and agent at our court, we have willingly given him audience and shall be ready still to do so. And on yourself, and on the others of like mind who adhere to you in your struggle for upholding the Catholic faith, we bestow with feelings of satisfaction our own and the apostolic blessing: finally we pray that He may send his Angels to be about your path, direct your pious efforts with his heavenly grace, and evermore defend you with the right hand of his power.

mend their case to the Romish powers of Europe; and to send them a nuncio presently.

His gracious reception of their agent P. Lombard;

and closing benediction.

Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 20th day of January, anno 1601, in the ninth year of our Pontificate,

"SILVIUS ANTONIANUS CARDIN."

No. LIV.

MANIFESTO OF DON JUAN D' AQUILA.

The occasion of this manifesto.

[The Lord Deputy having issued a proclamation at Cork, setting forth the iniquity of the practices of Rome and Spain against England, and calling on all good subjects to persevere in their loyalty to Queen Elizabeth, Don Juan D'Aquila published a sort of answer in the form of a counter proclamation, the most striking passages of which are contained in the following extracts. The whole may be seen in Foulia, p. 484, where the introductory note and reference is as follows:—'This is in Latin, *MS. F. 97 Cant. in Bib. Bodl. Oxon*, and thus in English in *Pacata Hibernia* pp. 200-202.']

D' Aquila will not allow Q. Elizabeth to have any legitimate sovereignty, after the papal sentence to the contrary.

"Don Juan de Aquila, Generall of the warr, and the Catholique king of Spain's chief commander in God's warr which is made in Ireland for the defence of the Faith: To all the Irish Catholiques living in Kingsale, the city of Cork, and all other villages, Cities and Castles, wisheth health in him who is the true happiness . . .

"First of all, ye [the Lord Deputy, &c.] feign that we would lead away the pretended subjects of the Queen of England from their obedience, to bring them under our yolk, which is a very untruth; for we endeavour not to persude any body that he should deny due obedience (according to the word of God) to his prince. But ye

know well, that for many years since, Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdom, and all her subjects absolved from their fidelity by the pope; unto whom He that reigneth in the heavens, the King of kings, hath committed all power, that he should root up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort, that he may punish temporal kings (if it should be good for the spiritual building) even to their deposing; which thing hath been done in the kingdoms of England and Ireland by many popes, viz. by Pope PIUS QUINTUS, GREGORY the thirteenth, and now by CLEMENT the 8th as it is well known; whose bulls are extant amongst us: I speak to Catholicks, not to forward hereticks, who have fallen from the faith of the Roman Church, seeing they are blind leaders of the blind, and such as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do also disagree from us in this thing. But our brethren the Catholiques, walking in the purness of the faith, and yielding to the Catholique Church (which is the very pillar of the truth) will easily understand all those things. Therefore it remaineth that the Irish (which adhere to us) do work with us nothing that is against God's laws or their due obedience; nay that which they do, is according to God's word and the obedience which they owe the pope.

Three bishops of Rome cited in support of his notions of the duty of Catholics.

Therefore my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired and begged for with prayers and tears; and that now, even now, the Pope, Christ's vicar on earth, doth command you to take armes for the defence of your faith; I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all, all I say unto whom these letters shall come, that as soon as possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons: whosoever shall do this, shall find us prepared, and we will communicate unto them those things which we possess, and whosoever shall (de-

All "remaining in the obedience of the English to be prosecuted as heretics even unto death."

spising our wholesome counsel) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will prosecute him as an heretic, and a hateful enemy of the Church, even unto death.

“DON JUAN DE AGUILA.”

No. LV.

MILITARY PROCEEDINGS OF OWEN MAC EGGAN.

Death in
battle of an
“apostolic
vicar.”
A.D. 1602.

Of this remarkable ecclesiastic, some notice has been already taken at p. 835, of the present work ; but the subjoined fuller and more original account of his performances, from Carew’s work, (*Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 366, 367,) will no doubt be interesting and acceptable to the reader :—

p. 366. [In the beginning of 1602 Captain Taaffe being employed against the insurgents in Carbery, came to action with some of them on the 5th of January, when] “OWEN MAC EGGAN, (the Pope’s Apostolike Vicar so often before mentioned) to put fresh heart into his company, with his sword drawne in one hand, and his portuiss and beades in the other, with one hundred men led by himselfe, he came boldly up to the sword, and mainetayned a hot skirmish, untill he was slaine with a shot, whereupon his men (together with a fresh charge of our horse) were so amazed and terrified, partly by his death, and partly by their owne danger, that they brake instantly, and for better expedition throwing away their armes, leaped into the river Bandon, hoping by that

meanes to escape, but that little availed them, for they all for the most part were either killed or drowned in the river." [120 of them, he adds, were slain on this occasion.]

p. 367. [Having mentioned that after this discomfiture "all Carbery was wholly reduced to subjection, no one open traitour remayning therein," Carew goes on thus :—]

Importance of Mac Egan's overthrow.

"A principall meanes of this suddaine and universall reduction was the death of that traitorly priest OWEN MAC EGGAN, which doubtlesse was more beneficiall to the state, than to have gotten the head of the most capitall Rebelle in Mounster, for the respect that was borne unto him (by reason of his authority from the pope) and the credit which hee had obtained in Spaine was so great, as his power was in a manner absolute over them all, and he onely was the meanes of their obdurate obstinacie: his dignity in being the Pope's *Vicarius Apostolicus* did hold them in vassalage unto him, and the livings given him in Mounster by the Pope's grant, were to be valued (if hee might quietly have enjoyed them) at three thousand pounds per annum. And farther to ingage the Popish clergy of Ireland unto him, hee had power to dispose at his pleasure of all the spirituall livings in the Province of Mounster, by which authority, together with the credit he had gotten with the king of Spain (well testified by the trust committed to him in transporting and disposing the Spanish money, last brought into Ireland) he had obtayned in a manner all power, both over the temporality and spirituality of Mounster, and to depeint him in his true colours, a more malicious traytor against the state and crowne of England, never breathed, which well appeared by the barbarous tyranny hee exercised upon his owne countriemen; for assoone as any prisoners were taken (though of his owne countrey, birth, and religion) yet if they had served the Queene, he

His influence, revenues, and patronage in Munster.

His treatment of the loyal Irish.

caused them first (in piety as he pretended,) to be confessed and absolved, and instantly (in his owne sight) would hee cause them to be murdered, which religious tyranny in him was held for sanctity. The president upon his returne to Corke, employed certaine messengers whom hee might trust, into the countrey to make search in such places as Mac Eggan usually resided, for such bookes and papers as were belonging unto him: divers books of schoole divinity (for the most part) were gotten, all which by the presidents gift fell to my share, and certaine papers amongst the which I will onely insert 3 in this present relation, the first containyng large indulgences, granted by P. Clemens the 8, to such of the Irish, as should beare armes against God's chosen servant, and their annoynted soveraigne the Queene's majesty, the tenor whereof here ensueth."

[Then follows the Bull of P. Clement, already given in No. XXIX sup.

Secondly, Clement's Letter to H. O'Neill; given in No. XXX. sup.

And *Thirdly*, A Bull of Pope Clement for granting spiritual livings unto Owen Mac Eggan; dated Oct. 31, 1595, and directed to "Dermittius" Bp. Cork (titular)—p. 371.]

No. LVI.

ANCIENT FAMINES IN IRELAND.

The rebellion of E.

Mention has been made in the course of this history of the famines with which Ireland has on

different occasions been visited, as the result of rebellions raised in the country by its inhabitants and their leaders. The notices of these calamities occurring in our historians are truly horrifying ; and would no doubt appear more so, were it not for the degree in which the mind has been familiarised to recitals of a kindred character even in these late years. Still after all, the accounts given in the following passages, of the famines of E. Bruce and the O'Neills, cannot fail to excite in the mind of the reader a painful and melancholy interest. They are taken, both extracts and references, from Mr. Stuart's valuable *History of Armagh* :—

Bruce, and the O'Neills, accompanied with awful famines.

p. 179. "During the residence of this valiant adventurer [E. Bruce] in Ireland, the people were visited with the complicated miseries of faction, war, and famine. How wretched must that situation have been which the annalist in Camden thus describes"—:

E. Bruce's followers compelled to acts of cannibalism.

'Many were so hunger-starved that in churchyards they took the bodies out of their graves, and in their sculls† boiled their flesh and fed thereon : yea and women did eat their own children for stark hunger.'

A.D. 1315.

"This most calamitous famine which seems to have pervaded the whole province [of Ulster] is gravely attributed by the annalist Pembridge to the wickedness of the people who dared to eat flesh in Lent. It is proba-

Pembridge's notion of the cause of such a famine.

* Annals apud Camden, p. 177.

† Perhaps a kind of vessel.

ble that this account of the effects of the famine is highly exaggerated. If the people were reduced to the necessity of using human flesh for food, it is not likely that they would have increased the disgust which they must naturally have felt for such diet by using the skulls of their deceased countrymen for boilers."

[But Mr. Stuart seems here to forget that people driven into the desolate fens and woods to save their lives from the ravages of war could not well carry about with them pots or saucepans or other kitchen utensils on such pilgrimages.]

F. Moryson's account of the famine of 1602.

p. 301. A.D. 1602. "Ravaged by his [i.e. Lord Mountjoy's] troops, the country was totally inadequate to support its wretched inhabitants. Multitudes of the Irish, hunted from hill to hill, perished by famine, and lay horrid spectacles, unburied in the fields and in the open highways. The following quotation from Fynes Moryson, who was himself an actor in this tremendous scene of misery and blood, will convey to the imagination of our readers a lively and affecting image of the almost unexampled calamity with which this unhappy country was then afflicted.

'Now,' says that writer, 'because I have often made mention of our destroying the rebels' corn and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought.

'Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson (his brother) and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (the eldest not above ten years old,) all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother; on whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten all

Case of children feeding on their mother's remains.

from the feet upward, to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her entrails,' &c.*

"And again, after narrating that the peasants were driven to eat horseflesh, kites, &c. he adds, 'Captain Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry, can witness that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children, driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten.' The children's skulls and bones, he adds, were found, and some women were convicted and executed for the crime.†

Another case of cannibalism at this crisis.

"Again he states (p. 289) 'that it was a common practice to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throats for a share of them; and no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns and especially in wasted countries than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground.'

Horseflesh used also as human food by the starving people.

"Again Moryson states 'that from O'Kane's country northward of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen, any but dead carcases, merely starved for want of meat.'‡

Desolation of the country instanced in Derry, Tyrone, &c.

"And again he says 'that O'Hagan protested unto us that between Tullaghoge and Toome, there lay unburied a thousand dead, and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater, there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone, and sure the poor people of those parts never yet had the means to know God, or to acknowledge any other sovereign

* Fynes Moryson, vol. 2, pp. 282, 283. † *ib.* ‡ *ib.* p. 172.

Spenser's
parallel ac-
count of the
effects of
the Des-
mond war.

than the O'Neils which makes me commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter."

"Moryson cannot" (says Mr. Stuart) "be suspected of exaggeration in the portraiture of human misery which he has thus depicted in such lively colours. Spenser, the English poet, &c. . . . writes thus . . . 'Ere one year and half . . .'"—[then follows the passage already given in the body of this work, p. 802 sup., and ending with "void of man and beast."]

Again, (as Mr. Stuart mentions at p. 373,) in the great rebellion of 1642, the king's troops in the course of their marching through Ulster found the Irish once more in the same terrible condition, and "reduced by famine to the dreadful necessity of eating their own dead."

No. LVII.

JUDGMENT OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF SALAMANCA AND VALLADOLID ON THE LAWFULNESS OF H. O'NEILL'S WAR AGAINST QUEEN ELI- ZABETH.

A.D. 1603.
O'Sullivan,
to prove the
unlawful-
ness of loy-
alty to

The very striking and instructive record above named is here presented to the reader at full length, as taken, along with the observations comprised in the notices which precede

* *ib.* p. 200.

and follow, from O'Sullivan's *History*, tom. 3, lib. 8, cap. 7, fol. 202—204. It may be seen also in Foulis, pp. 491—494. Queen Elizabeth, cites the

“CHAP. VII.—*Whether the Irish were justified in undertaking this war?*”

“From the historical statement now set before the reader, with scrupulous regard to truth, it clearly follows, that the war against the Queen of England, and the Irish belonging to the royal faction, was undertaken upon just and lawful grounds;—an opinion which some of our Anglo-Irish priests have refrained from asserting or pressing on the attention of their Anglo-Irish and Irish followers. In opposition to whose views, I think it better on the present occasion to produce here the judgment of those most famous academies of Salamanca and Valladolid, than to commence any argument about a matter so plain and perspicuous. That judgment, which was issued after some delay, in compliance with the request of the belligerent Catholics of Ireland, runs as follows:—

‘Sentence of the Doctors of the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid concerning the present War in Ireland, and their Explanation of the Letter of our most holy Lord Pope Clement the Eighth respecting the same War.’

‘The most illustrious prince Hugh O'Neill wages war with the Queen of England, and the English people, for the defence of the Catholic religion, that is, that he and the Irish people may be allowed freely to profess the Catholic religion, a freedom which the Queen of England is

Judgment of the Spanish universities in favour of the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill.

Two questions proposed.

endeavouring to wrest from them by violence and arms. Connected with this war there are two questions now raised. The *one* is, Whether it be lawful for Irish Catholics to support the said Prince Hugh in this war by arms or by any other means whatsoever? The *other*, Whether the same Catholics may, without mortal sin, fight against the aforesaid prince, or favour the English in this war by arms, or in any other manner? especially considering that if they refuse the English this kind of assistance, they expose themselves to manifest peril of life, or of losing their worldly substance. And besides, as a permission has been given to these Catholics of Ireland, by the supreme Pontiff, allowing them to obey the said Queen of England, and acknowledge her for a lawful Queen by paying taxes to her, they seem in a position to render her that service, which properly belongs to subjects, namely by fighting with those that have rebelled against the queen's authority, and who appear to be asserting a usurped claim to a territory subject to her dominion.

A first principle stated; viz., that seceders from the Romish faith may be coerced with arms.

'In order to give a satisfactory answer to both questions, it must be laid down as certain, that the Roman Pontiff has the power, when other means prove insufficient for meeting such a serious evil, to compel and coerce by force of arms, deserters from the faith, and such as attack the Catholic religion. It is also to be taken for a settled truth, that the Queen of England is one who makes attacks on the Catholic religion, and will not allow the Irish to celebrate publicly the worship of the Catholic faith, and that it was for the said cause the aforesaid prince, and before him the others who are mentioned in the letter apostolic of CLEMENT THE EIGHTH have been led to engage in the war against her. These observations being thus premised, the *First Question* is easily answered.

'For it is beyond doubt that any Catholics may give

their countenance to the said prince HUGH O'NEAL in the war aforesaid, and that with great merit and fullest hope of an eternal recompense. For as the aforesaid prince makes war by authority of the supreme Pontiff, in defence of the Catholic religion, and the Pontiff in his letter exhorts him and all the faithful servants of Christ to adopt that course, as is evident from his letter; and confers many graces on those who give their countenance to the prince in that war, as though they were engaged in war against the Turks, no person can reasonably doubt but that the war engaged in is a just one, and that to fight for the defence of the Catholic religion, the greatest of all blessings, is a proceeding highly meritorious in its character

1st. The aiding of H. O'Neill's rebellion is pronounced highly meritorious.

'As touching the *Second Question* also, it is quite certain, that all those Catholics are guilty of mortal sin, who follow the camp of the English against the said prince; and that they cannot obtain eternal salvation, nor be absolved of their sins by any priest, unless they first repent and desert from the camp of the English. And the same sentence must be passed on those who support the English with aid of arms or provisions in that war, or who render them any like service, beyond those customary taxes, which by the indulgence of the supreme pontiff, and by his permission, are allowed to be paid to the Queen of England or to her officers.

2ndly. "Catholics" loyal to the Queen, to be considered as guilty of mortal sin.

'The assertion here made is established by this most obvious proof;—That from the letter of the supreme pontiff it is sufficiently clear that the Queen of England and her generals are carrying on an unjust war against the prince above named and his supporters. For where the pontiff says that the English are fighting against the Catholic religion, and ought to be resisted not less vigorously than the Turks, and confers the same graces on those who do resist them, as he confers on those who fight against the Turks, who can doubt but that the war

The "proof" of this latter position, from papal pastorals.

in which the English are engaged against the Catholic army is altogether an unjust one. Now it never can be lawful for any man to countenance an unjust war, or aid in promoting it, under penalty of eternal damnation. A very grievous sin is therefore committed by those Catholics who fight in the camp of the heretics against the prince aforesaid, in a war openly unjust and iniquitous, and by all who assist the same war with aid of arms or military stores, or in any other way whatsoever, which may tend naturally to promote the said war, and who cannot give an account of their indifferent obedience.

The pope's exclusive responsibility in encouraging the Irish to engage in this insurrection.

'Nor is it of any avail to them to charge the apostolic letter with having been unfairly elicited by surreptitious practices. For a charge of such surreptitious practices cannot be entertained where there is no petition adduced as having proceeded from the parties in whose favour the letter is issued. But the supreme Pontiff in the letter in question expressly declares, that it was altogether voluntarily that he and his predecessors had exhorted the Irish chieftains and all the faithful to engage in that war; and to provoke them to greater alacrity therein he bestows on them a liberal supply of graces and indulgences. How then should it be possible for a letter to be surreptitiously elicited, which contains nothing but an exhortation overflowing with rich graces for such as would assent to the terms therein specified?

The measure of obedience which the Bishop of Rome will allow the subjects of the Queen to render to her, explained.

'Nor can those Catholics who support the English excuse themselves on the grounds adduced in the Second Question; for no mortal sin must be committed even if life or property is in danger of being lost. But to be concerned in acts, which have a natural tendency to promote or assist an unjust war, is plainly a mortal sin. Permission has also been given to Catholics to render to the heretic Queen that kind of obedience which is not opposed to the Catholic religion. But it never was, and never can be, a Pontiff's intention to allow in them such

acts of obedience to the Queen, as are manifestly at variance with the same Pontiff's own design and scope in regard to the promoting of the Catholic faith and religion in Ireland. And that such was his intention and scope, the letter itself declares with all possible distinctness.

'From all which it remains abundantly manifest, that the most illustrious prince HUGH O'NEILL, and the other Catholics of Ireland engaged in this war with a heretic princess who opposes the orthodox faith, are by no means rebels, nor guilty of denying any obedience which they owe, or unjustly usurping territories that belong to the Queen; but rather that they are, in a most righteous war, vindicating themselves and their own territory from an iniquitous and impious tyranny;—and struggling, to the utmost of their power, as Christians and Catholics ought, for the maintenance and protection of the holy and orthodox faith. Which opinions all and singular, we the undersigned hold and approve, as most certain and incontrovertible.

The summing up of the matter; that O'Neill's is a right godly and catholic warfare.

'Given at Salamanca, the second of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and three.

Signatures of the parties to this document.

'Doctors of Salamanca.

'Fr. Franciscus Zumel, Dean of Salamanca. Mag. Alphonsus de Curiel, chief Professor of Sacred Theology. Fr. Petrus de Herrera. Mag. Doctor Franciscus Sancius. Fr. Dionysius Juberus. Mag. Andreas de Leon. Fr. Petrus de Ledesma. Fr. Martinus de Peraça.

'Doctors of Theology, Valladolid.

'D. Franciscus Sobrino, Dean. D. Alphonsus Vacca de Santiago. D. Johannes Garcia de Coronel. Mag. Fr. Johannes Nigron. D. Torre. Fr. Josephus de Luxan. Valladolid, the Eighth of March, in the year one thousand six hundred and three.

'Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

'P. Johannes de Ziguença. P. Emanuel de Rojas. P. Gaspar de Mena, Professors of Theology in the College of the same Society at Salamanca. P. Petrus Ossorius, Ecclesiast in the same College.'

O'Sullivan's
concluding
inference.

"Such is the judgment of the academies, from which may be plainly seen, how far those Irishmen have been led astray into ignorance and blindness, who have supported the Protestants and fought against the Catholics in this war. And what mad and poisonous doctrine has been propagated by some having a name for better learning, who have misled secular persons from defending the faith to go after the Queen's party, &c , &c."

According to the dates in Foulis, the above document was first published at Salamanca, March 7, 1602, and then again the year after. A loose translation of a portion of it, which might appear to the reader as the whole, is given in Phelan's *Policy*.

No. LVIII

"COPIE OF A BULL, CONTAYNING AN EXHORTAC'ON AND REMISSION
UNTO THE CATHOLIQUES OF IRELAND."

(From the M.S. E. 3. 15. M.S. Library, Trin. Coll. Dub.)

A word of
comfort for
"Catho-
liques, un-
der the ty-

"By the seruant of the seruants of God and
vicare generall of the Catholique faith vpon
earth, vnto all our faithfull Catholiques of Ire-
land, Peace from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Deare children greeting vnto yow from our Lo: ^{rannicall} Jesus Christ. desiringe of him yt. yow may remayne sted- ^{yoke of he-} fast vntyll his comminge wh. wilbe shortned for his ^{retiques."} elects sake, whereas wee vppon our fatherly affection tendring the salvac'on of your soules healthes and pittyinge your miserable estate and bondage vnder yt. tyrannicall yoke of heretiques, and whereas vppon the first of November last there came before our consistory the proclamac'on made against ye Catholiques by yt. Tyrannicall apostatal vsurper of the supremacie of our apostolique dignity the wch. hath indured manny hundered yeares obedient vnto our sea, and nowe is suppressed by schismatiques, let not any man marvell at theis manifold downfalles into sinne, or be offended yt. the way of salvac'on is soe narrowe, for this is the straight wch. leadeth vnto life, this is the combatt betweene the world and Christ, neuer agreeing in one, this the vnsported lawe of God, wch. notwithstanding convrth soules and maketh them despise the delights of the fleshe, yea and extreame ill vsages of the world and onlie cleaue vnto Christ, and (yt. wch. is a moste happie thinge) to remaine wth him in his tribulac'ons vnto the end, yet not swarvinge from his holly will; marvell not though heretiques desemble amonge Catholiques, though they shewe noe difficulty of making all demonstrac'ons of fained pietye, contrary to theire owne conscience (whilest they receaue our Sacraments p'fesse our doctrine; and seeme to detest all heresies) yet they want true religion together with all constant p'fession; of that they esteeme for trueth. Therefore deere children I admonishe yow of one remedy wch may deliver yow from theire 'ypcrisies; be at vtter defiance with schisme and heresie, lett all the world vnderstand that in the least dangerous points, you will take the secure p'te, and noe way shrinke from yor'duety towards God; then shall you certainly avoide diuers snares of conscience. Thus assure your selves of;

The communion of the Reformed Irish Church to be shunned as pestilence or idol worship.

St. Augustine's views on schism, are brought to bear on the argument.

A large supply of military aid, &c., promised for the support

that as yow cannott too soone flee from plac's suspected of pestilence, soe can yow not be too curious in shunning whatsoev'r hath the least favor of Schisme and heresie; and lest yow may for want of right observation of your dueties, doe amiss, compare allwayes the case of goeing to theire church and receauing of their communion wth doing sacrifice or being p'sent at the sacrifice vnto Idoles; and what yow maie doe or say in the one, thincke that yow may doe the like in the other, or what yow may dissemble in one you may doe alsoe in the other, but I will shoue hereafter, that although there be difference betwixt them, yett there is sinne committed in them all alike. Sct. Augustin expoundeth the words of our Saviour, concerning the difficulty of remission, when a man sinneth against the holly Ghoste and verrie learnedly discovereth the sinne of schisme; wch he affirmeth to be the sinne against the holly Ghoste; for that the schismaticke untieling himselfe to other congregac'ons, or rather (as this saint sayeth) to other Segregations, and soe dividing the spiritt of God, cannott in any manner have the same spiritt of God by wch onely remission of sinnes is given for that martirdom it selfe cannott avayle herein, whereas those whose sinne (being in the Church) doe sinne only against the Sonne of man, not dividing the vnity of the Spiritt; and all this he confirmeth by the authority of St. Jude whose sayth that Schismatiques not houlding the head, have noe spiritt nor life w'thin them. Therefore deerely beloved, this shall suffice at this tyme, not that we doubt of your earnest steadfastnes, but rather to admonish you to stand and remayne in the same stedfastnes as you have don vnto this tyme, assuring yow, that wee will send yow aid of great strenght, y^e shall assist yow against all yo'r p'secutors by the next harvest, both Romanes and Germans, and alsoe Spaniards with shippinge and great stoare of armes, which shalbe able for to resist all yo'r

Tyranicall Gov'nors, and soe wee have concluded, And furthermore yt wee tenderinge your great zeale towards the Catholique fayth, do by our auctorithy from God fully and wholly absolve and remitt you and everye of yow of all your sinnes from your birth vntill the tenth of June next ensueing. Therefore this is our fatherly will, that all our Bushopps, Jesuits, priests, and all other our Catholique pastors, doe publish this exhortac'on and remission vnto all our faythfull Catholiques w'thin our Catholique kingdome of Ireland.

of the "Catholic" cause.

"Imbulled at Rome the 7th of December, 1605.

"Sextus Papa."

The bull here given is that from which the Right Rev. Bishop Mant has introduced a quotation, at Vol. i. p. 350 of his History, accompanied by a reference to the *Loftus MS.* Annals in Marsh's Library, Dublin. The above bull itself is not given in that authority; which however contains a reference to another MS. in Trinity College Library, in which the document is preserved. This latter MS. was not very easy to find, on account of the numbering in the MSS. Library having been twice changed since the reference in the *Loftus MS.* was written; and that without any clue to connect the different modes of numbering together. At length, however, by the kind aid of the learned junior librarian of T.C.D., (the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D.,) the MS. in question, containing the above document, was found out under the present numbering, E. 3, 15.

Note, on the authority for this document, and its appended signature.

The name Sextus at the close is erroneous. The person who filled the papal throne at the time indicated by the date of this admonitory epistle being Clement the Eighth; and no pope having this name, or number, occurring in the list of the popes about this date, good or bad. The *Sextus* may have been added, by mistake, or through design, by some later hand.

No. LIX.

COPY OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE OF KING JAMES I.

Of the
source from
which the
subjoined
oath is trans-
cribed.

The following copy of the Oath of Allegiance, drawn up by King James I., which became so famous in the ecclesiastical history of England and Ireland, (one might indeed say, of Europe,) at the commencement of the 17th century, is taken from the *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. iv. part ii., published in 1819, 3^o James I. c. 4, pp. 1073, 1074.

This c. 4 is entitled "An acte for the better discovering and repressing of Popish recusants." By sec. viii., "Bishops and justices may examine Recusants on oath, and require them to take oath of allegiance;" and by sec. ix. "Recusants refusing to answer on oath, or to take oath of

allegiance, may be imprisoned until assizes or sessions; and refusing there shall incur premunire."

In this Sec. the Oath is introduced as follows ;
(p. 1074.)

" Tenor of the
Oath of Allegiance,
&c., to be taken
and subscribed by
recusants.

" I, A. B. doe truly and sincerely acknowledge pfeesse testifie and declare in my conscience before God and the Worlde, that our Sovereigne Lord kinge James is lawfull and rightfull king of this Realme and of all other his

A.D. 1606.
Copy of
King
James's
Oath of Al-
legiance.

majesties Dominions and countries. And that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any Power or Authoritye to depose the king or to dispose any of his Majesties kingdomes or dominions, or to authorize any Forraigne Prince to invade or annoy hym or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiaunce and obedience to his Majestie, or to give licence or leave to any of them to beare armes raise Tumult or to offer any violence or hurte to his Majesties Royal P'son state or Government or to any of his Majesties subjects within his Majesties dominions. Also I doe swear from my heart that notwithstanding any declarac'on or Sentence of excommunicac'on or deprivac'on made or graunted, or to be made or graunted by the Pope or his successors, or by any authoritie derived or p'tended to be derived from hym or his sea against the saide king his heires or successors, or any absolution of the saide subjects from their obedience. I will beare faith and true allegiaunce to his Majestie his heires and successors, and hym or them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and

attempts whatsoever which shalbe made against his or their persons, their crowne and dignitie by reason or colour of any such sentence or Declarac'on or otherwise, and will doe my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majestie his heirs and successors all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall knowe or heare of to be against hym or any of them. And I doe further sweare That I doe from my heart abhor detest and abjure as impious and hereticall this damnable Doctrine and Position, that princes which be exco'municated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whosoever. And I doe beleve and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the pope nor any p'son whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full Authoritye to be lawfully ministred unto mee, and doe renounce all Pardons and dispensac'ons to the contrarie; And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and Sweare, according to these expresse wordes by me spoken, and according to the playne and co'mon sense and understanding of the same wordes, without any equivocac'on or mentall evasion or secret reservac'on whatsoever; And I doe make this recognic'on and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truly upon the true faith of a Xtian: So help me God. Unto which oath so taken the said p'son shall subscribe his or her name or marke."



No. LX.

BRIEF OF POPE PAUL V. CONDEMNING THE PRECEDING OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Dr. Burke, in his important compilation, the *Hibernia Dominicana*, (Colon. 1762,) is pretty full, (in his own peculiar way,) on the ecclesiastical transactions of our history connected with the reign of King James I. His account of the Oath of Allegiance framed by this monarch, and the papal briefs pronouncing its condemnation, will be found worthy of the reader's attention, and are accordingly inserted for his perusal in this and the next following articles.

De Burgo's account of the oath of King James I., &c.

[At p. 611 is given the edict of James I., of July 4, 1605, ordering all his majesty's subjects in Ireland to attend their parish churches on Sundays and Holidays, and commanding all Jesuits, seminary priests, &c., deriving authority from foreign power (and endeavouring, says the proclamation, not only "to seduce our subjects to embrace their own superstitious ceremonies, but also by their malignant contrivances to turn them away from their duty, studying to vilify in their sight the Religion which we cherish, as well as our civil administration, &c.") to leave the realm before the 10th of December ensuing, unless they would come to Church.]

Purport of the Edict of July 4, A.D. 1605.

Chap. 17, Num. xi. p. 613. "Then, taking occasion from the treasonable conspiracy, according to which a plot was formed, for the 5th day of November of the said

The Gunpowder Plot furnishes occasion for

enforcing
the Oath on
all subjects ;

year 1605, against the king's own person and the public estates of the whole realm of England, by means of gun-powder placed under the parliament house at London, (a conspiracy concocted, as report says, by certain who were instigated by the scheming and artful William Cecil, his object being to compass the total extermination of the Catholic religion,) James himself, or if you choose it, Cecil, set about manufacturing a new form of oath, which by law and public statute he made obligatory on all subjects, so that they should be liable to being called on and required to take it ; which oath also you may see inserted in the apostolic letter of the Supreme Pontiff Paul V., to be recited presently. This subject certainly was one, as observes our Daniel O'Daly, [in his *Relatio Geraldinorum*, p. 254.] concerning which there arose in England and in Ireland various dissensions and much difference of opinion among the Catholic leaders, and their Theologians and Ecclesiastics ; some strenuously refusing to take the oath, others hastening to take the same oath without any scruple, and contending that such a course was allowable for the sake of obtaining a riddance from persecution or annoyance, if it were adopted with the intention of promising only civil obedience and fealty to the king's majesty. But however, the chief pontiff Paul V. aforesaid, who was elected in this same year 1605, cut short the controversy, by declaring in his letter to the Catholics of England and Ireland, issued in the form of a brief, and bearing date the 22nd of September, 1606, that the oath was unlawful ; as follows :—

which gives
rise to much
dissension
among the
Romans.

‘ *Pontifical Brief*
of Paul V. to the Catholics of England and Ireland.

Paul V. at-
tempts to

‘ Beloved children, health and apostolical benediction.
‘ Very deep has been the affliction which we have all

along felt at the tribulations and calamities to which you have been so unrelentingly subjected in consequence of your firm adherence to the Catholic faith: but now that we have heard how bitterly all your troubles are aggravated at the present time, our distress has increased to an extraordinary degree. For we have been given to understand that you are compelled, under the sanction of the heaviest penalties, to go to the temples of the heretics, frequent their services, and be present at their preachings. We are firmly persuaded that men who have heretofore undergone with so much constancy persecutions the most atrocious, miseries almost infinite, that they might walk without spot in the law of the Lord, will undoubtedly never allow themselves to be contaminated by communion with deserters from the divine law. Nevertheless, influenced as we are by the zeal that belongs to our pastoral office, and considering the paternal solicitude for the salvation of your souls by which we are ever actuated, we cannot but warn and beseech of you that you never on any account enter the churches of those heretics, or listen to their preachings, or communicate with them in religious rites, lest you incur the anger of God. For these are acts which you cannot commit without injury to the worship of God and to your own souls.

settle the
matter.
A.D. 1606.

His impertinent notice of the Church and worship of England.

‘As also you cannot without a most evident and most awful dishonouring of God, bind yourselves by the oath, which, with similar feelings of deepest heart-sorrow we have heard of as having been proposed for your acceptance; of the tenor here subjoined, viz :—

He takes
upon him to
condemn
the king's
Oath;

[The oath is then recited, in Latin of course, as well as the rest of this brief; but agreeing exactly with the English form in the preceding article; after which the pontiff immediately thus proceeds:]

‘Such being the nature of this document, it should be clear to you from the very words of it, that an oath of disciples

telling his

they must
be ready to
die, rather
than take it

the kind cannot be taken with safety to the Catholic faith and to the welfare of your own souls, containing, as it does, much that is openly opposed to the faith and to salvation. Wherefore we admonish you carefully to abstain from taking this or other such oaths; a caution which we are the more strict in urging upon you, because that having had experience of the constancy of your faith, which has been tried, as gold, in the furnace of unremitting tribulation, we feel assured that you will be ready cheerfully to submit to any still more atrocious tortures, and even to feel an earnest longing for death itself, rather than to do ought which might be injurious to the majesty of God. And our confidence is strengthened by those acts of YOUR MARTYRS which glitter even in these last days with a splendour not inferior to that which shed a glory round the CHURCH'S EARLIEST DAYS. [sic.]

He misap-
plies to his
purpose va-
rious well-
sounding
exhorta-
tions;

'Stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth, and put on you the breastplate of righteousness: taking the shield of faith: Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might; and let nothing stay you in your onward course: and He who beholds from heaven the struggles in which you are engaged, and is ready to confer on you the crown, will finish the good work which He hath begun in you. You know that He has made promise to his disciples that he would never leave them orphans; and faithful is He that hath promised. Maintain therefore His discipline, that is, rooted and grounded in charity, whatever be your circumstances, whatever your aims, act unanimously together, in simplicity of heart, in unity of spirit, without murmuring or hesitation. Seeing that herein shall all men know that we are Christ's disciples, if we shall have love one to another. Which charity, as it is indeed most highly to be desired among all Christ's faithful people, so for you at least, children most dearly beloved, it is absolutely ne-

cessary. For such charity among you has the effect of crushing that power of the devil which at present rises against you in such fury, and which depends mainly for its support on the disputes and contentions of our children.

'We exhort you therefore by the bowels of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whose charity we have been rescued from the jaws of eternal death, that above all things ye maintain mutual charity among yourselves. Precepts of special utility, relative to the exercise of brotherly charity towards one other, have been addressed to you by Pope Clement VIII. of happy memory, in his letter, in the form of a brief, to our beloved son George, arch-presbyter of the realm of England, dated on the 5th day of the month of October, 1603. Attend therefore diligently to those instructions, and lest you may be impeded by any difficulty or ambiguity, we command you to observe strictly to the letter the words of that communication, and to receive and understand them simply as they sound and lie therein, without taking any liberty of interpreting them otherwise. Meanwhile we shall never cease to beseech God, the Father of mercies, to regard with pity your troubles and afflictions, and to vouchsafe to you the defence and safeguard of his continual protection; of our clemency bestowing on you also at the same time our apostolical benediction.

and concludes by calling on them to attend to the directions of Clement VIII. to G. Blackwell.

'Given at Rome at St. Mark's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the Tenth of the Calends of October, [Sep. 22,] 1606, in the second year of our Pontificate.' "

(Given in O'Daly, *Relat. Gir.*, 255-261; Foulis, *Hist. &c.*, 527. Mr. Phelan gives as the whole a mutilated version of a portion of the document.)

No. LXL

SECOND BRIEF OF POPE PAUL V., CONFIRMATORY OF THE PRECEDING.

Immediately in connection with the matter of the extracts from the *Hibernia Dominicana* comprised in the preceding article, De Burgo continues his narrative in the manner following:—

To remove a doubt cast on the authority of the last brief, Paul V. issues a fresh one. A.D. 1607.

“XII. But inasmuch as there were some persons who (from a desire possibly to deceive the Catholics, lest they should take occasion hereupon to refuse the oath) were spreading rumours in England of a tendency to throw suspicions on the credit of the above letter apostolic, saying that it was a Brief written not according to the natural sentiments and proper will of the pontiff himself, but rather at the instance and by the design of others, the abovenamed pope Paul V. took occasion therefore in the following year, and on the 22nd of September once again, to write a second letter, from which the truth of the former might more plainly appear. Of which moreover the contents are as follows ;—[from O'Daly, *Relat. Ger.* 262-265. Also in Foulis, 528.]

‘*Second Apostolic Brief of Pope Paul the Fifth.*

‘Beloved children, health and apostolical benediction.

The pontiff expresses his uneasiness at the disrepute incurred by his first letter.

‘Tidings have reached us, that there are found certain among you, who, after our having declared with sufficient clearness, in our letter given in the form of a brief, of the 10th of the Kalends of October of last year, that you could not with a safe conscience take the oath which was then required of you, and after our having also strictly commanded you not to take that oath on any account,

are now presuming to say that such a letter prohibitory of the oath in question was not written of our own natural accord and proper will, but at the instance, and in pursuance of the designs, of others; And are on this ground endeavouring to persuade the parties concerned, that our commands in the said letter need not be attended to. These tidings have certainly occasioned considerable uneasiness on our part, and the more on this account, that having had experience of your obedience, our children singularly beloved, who to maintain your allegiance to this holy See, have **PIOUSLY AND GENEROUSLY DISREGARDED** [*sic.*] riches, wealth, dignity, liberty, in fine life itself, we never should have suspected that the authority of our letters apostolic could have been called in question among you, as a pretext for securing an exemption from the obligation of our commands. But we recognise herein the craft and scheming of the enemy of man's salvation, to whom, rather than to your will, we are disposed to attribute the origin of this opposition. On these grounds we have determined to write to you again, and once more to intimate to you, that our Letter apostolic prohibitory of the oath, bearing date the 10th of the Kalends of (October of last year, was written, not only of our own motion and certain knowledge, but also after long and grave deliberation on all matters therein contained; and that you are therefore bound strictly to observe its injunctions, rejecting every interpretation which tends to dissuade you from so doing. This we (who in our solicitude for your salvation do always adopt such views as are favourable to your interests,) declare to be our mere, pure, and full pleasure. And that He who hath been pleased to appoint our lowliness to the guardianship of the Christian flock, may ever illuminate our views and consultations, we do unceasingly desire in our prayers. To whom also we offer our continual supplication, that to you, our children most exceedingly beloved, He may give

To amend which, he writes this confirmatory brief.

the increase of Faith, constancy, and mutual charity and peace among yourselves : while to all of you, we for our part present, in all the affection of charity, our very loving benediction.

Given at St. Mark's in Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, the Tenth of the Kalends of October, 1607, in the third year of our Pontificate." (*Hib. Dom.* p. 615.)

Brief note of subsequent historical circumstances, (from De Burgo.)

[XIII. Burke then goes on then to say that these two letters of the pope so annoyed (*torsers*) King James, that he was obliged to write an apology for his oath, professing to shew that he only required such civil obedience as was due to a sovereign, but usurped by the popes, contrary to the H. Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils. "While King James was occupied in these lucubrations" nearly four years passed away, "without any din of great persecution, though yet at the same time the Catholics were not allowed any very large amount of rest or quiet;" until 1610, when the deputy Chichester issued a proclamation, forbidding subjects to leave the kingdom, or send their sons abroad, without permission from the deputy or other principal minister of the kingdom;* and the absent to return. This was issued on July 10th. "Then it was," he goes on to say, "that the persecution in Ireland was renewed, and began to rage with increased energy," all kinds of sanguinary tyranny and cruelty being employed, according to his narrative, (at p. 618,) against the recusant party.

continued to the time of the parliament of A.D. 1614.

The account of the Parliament of 1613 commences at p. 619. The opening, construction, &c. of the house, is described at 621; speech of the Romish leader, *ib.* The scramble in the house, and desertion of the recusants, at 622: the mission to England at 624. "To supply the travelling expenses," he remarks, "of these agents, the

* See an instance at the commencement of No. LXV. *inf.*

Irish [R] Catholics contribute a large sum of money, in a spirit of the greatest alacrity, and with open hands, as they say; which having been collected by the priests, is transmitted to England to our orators," *ib.* Chichester's decree is at p. 625; Chichester summoned into England, 626; acquitted, Feb. 7, 1614, *ib.* Speech of James to the Irish, in the parliament of England, 627; replies and conversation on the subject, *ib.* 628;—immediately after which De Burgo proceeds with the matter given in Art. LXIX. *inf.*

No. LXII.

PETER LOMBARD'S COMMISSION TO DAVID ROTH, APPOINTING HIM
TO BE HIS VICAR-GENERAL.

(*From the MS. E. 3, 15 in the MSS. Library, Trin. Coll., Dub.*)

"A Commission from Peeter Lombard
archbp. of Ardmaigh to David Roth to
be his Vicar generall in that province, &c.

"Peter Lombard, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See, archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, to our beloved in Christ, David Roth, Professor of Sacred Theology, nominated as Protonotary Apostolic by our most holy father and Lord in Christ, Paul V. now by divine providence pope, greeting. Seeing that ever since the time of our promotion to this dignity of the primate's office, (not indeed for our own merits, but by the calling of God, and in accordance with the pleasure, proper motion, and mandate, of him, to whom, among the other prerogatives connected with the highest position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, belongs the power to appoint bishops throughout the whole world, that is, the Roman Pontiff, the Supreme Vicar of Christ on earth,

A.D. 1609.
P. Lombard,
acting on
the pretend-
ed right of
the bp. of
Rome "to
appoint
bishops
throughout
the whole
world,"

had already
granted, as
he says, va-
rious facul-
ties to cer-
tain priests
in Ireland ;

all which
collectively
he now
entrusts to
D. Roth,

with power
also to ap-
point local
delegates of
all kinds ;

and legitimate successor of B. Peter, prince of the Apostles, in the government of the Church of God,) we have, during the period intervening, been detained, by the will and mandate of the said supreme pontiff, in this noble city, occupied continually in business of the highest importance connected with the affairs of the Universal Church ;—In order to render what aid and service the circumstances of the present times, and of matters in the realm of Ireland, allowed, to the interests of the souls of Christ's faithful ones in that country ; we have as well by our ordinary authority, as in virtue of that which is delegated to us from the apostolic see, granted such faculties as were necessary, beneficial, and convenient for this purpose, to sundry presbyters of grades in the Church, both secular, as they are called, and religious, of divers orders, recommended to us by testimonials of satisfactory character.

“ But now that you, whose character so highly commends itself to the said apostolic see, and its supreme pontiff, and to ourselves, are intending to go thither for the sake of benefiting souls, having had satisfactory evidence, from your daily conversation and intercourse while we lived together, of your learning, piety, probity, fidelity, zeal, discretion, and prudence ; We appoint, constitute, create, depute, and solemnly ordain you, to be our true, certain, legitimate, and indisputable, vicar or procurator, agent, commissioner, and manager, general and special, of all our affairs, in such a sense however, that the generality is not to interfere with the speciality, nor the speciality with the generality [of the commission.] And we concede to you the power of deputing and constituting other vicars more special in particular localities, whether you may have access yourself to those localities or not, and any other officials and administrators whatsoever, just as we ourselves might do if we were there present.

"And whereas the spiritual faculties that we have hitherto communicated to others have been generally granted by us on the grounds of reports or testimonials from some third party; we further grant and communicate to you the power, if you shall find any, and whomsoever you shall find, among the persons to whom such faculties have been granted, less adapted for the exercise of such faculties at all, or in such ample degree, or abusing the faculties granted them, in such cases to deprive, restrain, or suspend, the parties concerned, and to communicate the same to persons whom you may find suitable for having such faculties committed to their charge, and who have not received them from us, or from other legitimate authority and power, according as you shall judge expedient in the Lord for the Salvation of souls.

any similar authority conferred on others being now to be superseded at his pleasure.

"And in general, we grant you the power of regulating other matters all and singular, that any other vicars and procurators general, and administrators in matters of jurisdiction, from right or usage have been accustomed, and are permitted, to superintend, even should they be such as might require a more special mandate than is expressed in these presents for their execution, settlement, exercise, or procuration.

The extent of Roth's authority in his new office.

"In testimony whereof we have with our own hand subscribed these presents, and caused our seal to be affixed thereto.

"Given at Rome in the Vatican Palace, in the year 1609, on the Ides [the 13th] of June, Indiction VII. the Fifth year of the Pontificate of our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Paul the Fifth, now by divine Providence pope.

The date, and authority of this document.

"PETER LOMBARD, Archbp. of Armagh,
"Primate of the Kingdom of Ireland.

[place of the seal —]

"By command of the most illustrious
"and most reverend lord Primate,

"JOHN GAY, Secretary."

No. LXIII.

ON THE DEPOSING POWER, AND ITS RESULTS IN ENGLAND.

The mischievous consequences of Rome's claim to a power of deposing princes

exposed by the most respectable writers of her own communion.

The penal transactions of the seventeenth century connected with the Oath of Allegiance, or rather with the opposition to it, and assertion of the papal claim to a power of deposing secular princes, engaged in by the adherents of the communion of Rome in those days, furnish to the student of that portion of our history matter for consideration which cannot but be regarded with a painful interest: an interest not likely to be lessened from studying, in connection with such recitals, the remarkable and instructive comments on them supplied by eminent writers of the same communion. No authors can condemn, in stronger language than do those to whom we refer, the injustice of that claim which was so prominently put forward, and so earnestly contended for, from the very commencement of the breach between England and Rome. This remark will be sufficiently illustrated in the subjoined extracts from two of those writers, the English Roman Catholic bishop Berrington, and the eminent Irish Dr. O'Connor, as well as from those given from another not less famous author of the same faith in Art. 72 inf. In order to under-

stand the circumstances of the transaction alluded to in the extracts given in this article, it will be needful to go back a little, in order to direct our attention to some earlier proceedings in England and elsewhere connected with this subject.

From a reference to the bull of Pius V. containing the Excommunication &c. of Q. Elizabeth, as given in Art. 45. sup. it will be seen that that document, as addressed to the subjects of Rome, was mandatory in its character, not only freeing them from their allegiance, but "commanding all and singular, nobles and people, not to presume to obey her or her laws", on pain of being themselves involved in sentence of anathema. Gregory XIII. however, succeeding to the popedom in May, 1572, appears to have considered that the continuance and enforcement of an order so peremptory would endanger his authority; and he therefore issued an explanatory bull,* declaring that this language of the Excommunication should be so understood "as that the same should *always bind* the queen and the *the heretics*, but that it should by no means bind the Catholics, as matters then stood or were; only thereafter it should bind them, when the public execution of that bull may be had or made." In other words, the effect of the bull of

Two successive bulls of Gregory XIII. are issued in explanation of that of Paul V. against Queen Elizabeth.

* Mr. Butler, *Historical Memoirs*, l. 196. Phelan's *Policy*, 136.

Pius was to be in a good measure suspended, but only until such time as the Court of Rome should have power to enforce its execution. The Spanish Armada, upon which the Roman government chiefly depended for the effecting of this object, was not yet equipped, and in the mean time domestic treason would have been easily crushed in England. But when the Armada was ready for sea, a fresh bull was issued, restoring that of Pius to its full force once more.

The Armada gone, the Romish priests in England are ordered, by royal proclamation, to make an acknowledgement of allegiance.

On the failure of the Armada, the queen, as a means of checking the treasonable sentiments propagated among the Romish priesthood in England, addressed to them a special proclamation, which after acknowledging the distinctions observable between different classes of them in regard to loyalty and good order, proceeded to enjoin, that all should quit the realm "except such as before a member of the privy council, or a bishop, or the president of Wales, should acknowledge allegiance and duty to her:" with these latter she declared that "she would then take such further order as should be thought most fit and convenient." But of the entire number in England at the time, thirteen only thought fit to avail themselves of this occasion for expressing their sentiments of loyalty to her majesty.

Thirteen obey:

By these individuals a paper was presented to the Privy Council, entitled "A Protestation

of Allegiance," in which they profess to hold her majesty as rightful sovereign of the realm, with as full authority as any of her predecessors, or other Christian prince elsewhere was ever lawfully possessed of; and themselves bound to obey her as much as any Protestants; and that this was so plain a duty from the Word of God, that no authority, cause, or pretence, could ever on any occasion justify them in disobeying her in temporal and civil matters. And that even if the pope were to excommunicate all her subjects that would not join in plots and invasions against her, occasioned by excommunications denounced against her, they should still consider themselves bound in conscience to disobey such censures and abide faithful to the queen. At the same time, they express the highest regard for their supreme spiritual pastor, the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, &c. "For," say they, "as we are most ready to spend our blood in the defence of her majesty and our country, so we will rather lose our lives than infringe the lawful authority of Christ's Catholic Church."

This Protestation was well received by the Privy Council, and also approved by the queen. It likewise occasioned much general discussion among the members, lay and clerical, of the Romish Communion in England; in consequence of which an application was made to the University

which elicits
a judgment
on their pro-
ceeding
from the
University
of Louvain.

of Louvain for an opinion upon its merits. And such an opinion was accordingly delivered by that body, although in such a very guarded and cautious form, that of two eminent authors who have undertaken to interpret it, one, Father Redmond Caron, (a learned Irish Franciscan, in the reign of Charles the Second,) calls it a gentle censure, the other, Mr. Butler, styles it an approbation. The former is however its more correct designation. We subjoin one or two of the most striking passages in this opinion, bearing directly on the subject of the deposing power, and indicating the sentiments of the University of Louvain in regard to it; which sentiments have been very widely adopted by members of the same communion in general. Of the difficulty found by the divines of Louvain in the statements of the Protestation, they thus speak:—

condemning
their opin-
ions as false,
but not he-
retical ;

“They [*i.e.* the Protesters] appear to suppose that the pope has not at least an indirect power in temporals ; and that a prince cannot be deposed, or his subjects absolved of their oaths, by any power of the Church. Now this is doubtless a false doctrine, yet not contrary to the faith.

“That it is not contrary to the faith is manifest from Cardinal Bellarmine, who only calls the doctrine of the deposing power an opinion common to all divines ; and from Cardinal Perron, who says that it is not proposed by the Pontiff as of divine faith, seeing he tolerates many of the French who maintain the contrary, &c.”

Then as to the particular individuals immediately concerned in signing the Protestation, the Opinion speaks of their conduct with very great mildness, and indeed with a degree of approbation, their meaning being,—according to the divines of Louvain :—

and suggesting some considerations of importance, to palliate their appearance of disrespect for papal fulminations.

"not that the decree of the pontiff was to be treated with disrespect; but that by reason of the particular circumstances of time and place, circumstances better known to themselves than to the pontiff, they did not believe themselves so far bound by his sentence as to depart from their allegiance to their temporal prince. Thus our censure of the fact is still milder than that of the doctrine. For it may well happen that a case should occur, in which they might suppose, and not without reason, that they ought not to obey the sentence of the pope until they had fully informed his holiness of the posture of affairs. There might be urgent reasons for suspending for a season their obedience to the see apostolic;—if for instance they discovered, that by such a profession of civil duty the sovereign might be more easily appeased. For in order that princes may be deposed by the Church, it does not suffice that there resides in the pontiff the naked right of deposal; it is requisite that this right be exercised prudently and with good effect. For if the power of the temporal prince be such that he cannot be deposed, or at best, not without much bloodshed and commotion of war, difficulties which probably these priests apprehended;—and if, on the other hand there be a great hope of obtaining peace for the Catholic religion, what other fruit would violence have, than that the faith should be exposed to still greater hazards? &c."

This famous University was therefore of opin-

Substance
of the doc-
trine pro-
mulgated in
this Lou-
vain judg-
ment.

ion that the sentences of the Church of Rome are always valid against heretics, but that the time and manner of their execution are to be regulated by views of expediency, just as was indicated in the explanatory bull of Pope Gregory above noticed.

Sentiments
of Bp. Ber-
rington on
these trans-
actions.

Now as to the sentiments of the Roman Catholic bishop Berrington above named, which no doubt have been, and are, shared in by a large number of the most respectable persons belonging to his creed, they may be gathered at large from the account which he gives of the origin, progress, and final rejection, of the Oath of Allegiance in England, by the Romanists of that country, in his Introduction to the *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, or more briefly from the specimens contained in the following extracts :—

That a due
rendering of
civil obe-
dience to K.
James
would have
annulled all
penal laws
against Ro-
manist re-
cusants ;

“ Had the [R.] Catholics in a body,” says Bishop Berrington, “ upon the accession of James, waited on him with the *Protestation of Allegiance*, as containing their true and loyal sentiments, it is probable that we should have heard no more of recusancy or of penal prosecutions. His good will to the professors of that religion was, from the earliest impressions, deeply marked upon his heart ; but in the creed of the majority, at least of a majority of their ministers, he knew there was a principle admitted, that of the papal prerogative over the crowns of princes, which could ill accord with the exalted opinion he entertained of his royal dignity and independence. Both parliament and king, aware that some [R.] Catholics from conscientious scruples objected to the Oath of

Supremacy, and still that there were many whose civil principles were sound and loyal, seriously desired to offer them a political test which should establish a just discrimination; that is, should show them who might be safely trusted. With this view the Oath of Allegiance was framed, to which, it was thought every Catholic would cheerfully submit, who did not believe the bishop of Rome to have power to depose kings and give away their dominions. The oath accordingly was taken by many [R.] Catholics, both laity and clergy; and a ray of returning happiness gleamed around them. But a cloud soon gathered on the seven hills, for it could not be that a test, the main object of which was an explicit rejection of the deposing power, should not raise vapours there. The [R.] Catholics were thrown into the utmost confusion; new dissensions arose; controversies were renewed, while the king, the government, and the nation, strengthened in their first prejudices, were now authorized to declare that men whose *civil* conduct was subject to the control of a foreign court could with no justice claim the common right of citizens. The laws of the preceding reign were ordered to be executed, and new ones additionally severe were enacted. With what face then can it be asserted that the Roman bishop or his court have constantly promoted the best interests of the English [R.] Catholics, when their religion itself was exposed to danger, and themselves and their posterity involved in much misery, that an ambitious prerogative might not be curtailed.”—

a course
impeded by
the tyranny
of the Court
of Rome.

“The priests who took the oath of allegiance were harassed by a papal decree, whereby they were deprived of all their jurisdiction, and consigned to penury and ignominy. Of these, many surrendered themselves into the hands of justice, to obtain a scanty maintenance, an act of direful necessity which the men of their own faith could represent as a sinful apostacy from religion.

Results of
the Romish
policy in
England at
this crisis.

Execution of two of the thirteen priests above mentioned.

Their surviving companions address a touching petition to the bishop of Rome.

A Romish bishop's comment on its reception.

Others retracted, and among them two of the thirteen who had signed the Protestation of Allegiance; but the bulls of Paul it seems had extinguished all consistency of reason, and inspired them with a love of martyrdom. They died, because, when called upon by the legal authority of their country, they would not declare that the Roman bishops had no right to depose princes.”*

Some priests, fellow prisoners of the two who had been executed, addressed an affecting petition to the pope, praying that he would explain in what particulars the oath was unlawful. “Immured,” say they, “in a dungeon, surrounded by all that is pernicious and revolting, bereft of the solace of friendly communion and the society of all good men, we live in darkness. From this place, in which thirteen of us had been confined for our rejection of the Oath, two of our number went forth last year to suffer as invincible martyrs, and exhibited a sight of sublime interest to God, to angels, and to men. By the blood of these martyrs, by our own toils and sufferings, by our chains and tortures, and all enduring patience, and if these things do not move you, by the bowels of the divine compassion, we implore you, turn a portion of your consideration to the afflictions of the English [R.] Catholics. There are some who fluctuate between you and Cæsar; in order therefore that the truth may be made manifest, we pray that your holiness would vouchsafe to point out those propositions in the oath of allegiance, which are opposed to faith and salvation.” The vicar of Christ would not condescend to explain—“he could sit.”—it is a papal bishop who thus vents his indignation—“he could sit undisturbed in the Vatican, hearing that men were imprisoned, and that blood was poured out, in support of a claim which had no better origin than the ambition of his predecessors, and the weak concessions of mortals;

* Berrington, *Memoirs of Panzani*, Introduction, 68-78.

he could sit and view the scene, and not, in pity at least, wish to redress their sufferings by releasing them from the injunctions of his decree."¹

Bishop Berrington's work is one which the writer of these pages has not been able to meet with, it not being in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The extracts above given are here set forth as they stand in Mr. Phelan's *History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland*. The authority for the preceding extracts.

The translation just recorded is described by Dr. O'Connor also in eloquent and striking terms, as will be seen from the following extract from his *Columbanus*, No. 6. His expressions are certainly not very gentle, to be applied by a priest of Rome to the chief prelate of his own communion. But the case was one that was well adapted to elicit such a kind of style from a writer of Dr. O'Connor's principles. Dr. O'Connor's account of the proceedings above-mentioned.

"Historical Narrative of the Case of Eleven Priests confined in Newgate for not renouncing the Pope's pretended deposing Power, and for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance to King James I.

"Of all the transactions of the seventeenth century, that which, next to the Irish massacre, most injured our ancestors, and led to overwhelm their posterity by the penal code, was the rejection of the Irish remonstrance, and king James's test of allegiance, in compliance with the injunctions of Rome. The second order of our clergy who were not immediately under Italian influence, Dr. O'Connor's condemnation of the mischievous effects of Romish policy in Ireland

* *ib.* and Dodd's *Ch. Hist.* III. 524. Phelan, *Policy*, 224.

under King
James I.

[i. e. in the seventeenth century, and according to Dr. O'Connor's views,] felt it their duty to subscribe these tests, and several wrote invincibly in their defence. But the sworn delegates of the Roman court issued their suspensions ordering them rather to submit to *martyrdom for the Catholic faith*.

King James's invincible defence of the oath of allegiance was now overwhelmed by a *religious cry*. The works of the Jesuits Bellarmine and Suarez against it, were extolled as masterpieces of Catholicity, and the deposing doctrines were rammed down the throats of the English [R.] Catholics, without the least modification, throughout a period of one hundred and eighty-three years.

His notice
of the peti-
tion to Paul
V. from the
eleven
priests con-
fined in
Newgate.

"There is yet extant a petition to Pope Paul V., signed by eleven priests, who were under sentence of death in Newgate, for refusing James's oath in 1612. Two of their companions had already suffered death for this offence. *They died in resistance to legitimate authority, and by the instigation of a foreign power.*

"In their petition they intreat of his Holiness *by all that is sacred*, to attend to their horrible situation, and they beg of him to point out to them clearly, in what the oath, for which they were condemned to die, is repugnant to the Catholic faith. But yet, influenced by the courtly maxims, they declare their belief in his unlimited power, and they conclude with a solemn protest of blind submission to all his decrees, with an obedience as implicit as if Rome were another Mecca, or as if the Vatican were the Seraglio of a Mahomet.

Their mis-
erable con-
dition under
the despotic
tyranny of
Rome.

"My heart swells with mingled emotions of pity on one side, and horror and indignation on another, when I contemplate the dilemma in which those wretched men were thus placed, by the pride and ambition of their su-

* Vid. p. 1322 sup.

periors! Before them was Tyburn, behind them stood armed with fulminating thunders and terrors, that grim disgrace, in the opinion of their flocks, by which they would be overwhelmed as apostates, if they opposed the mandates of Rome! On one side conscience stared them in the face, with St. Paul*—on another, a Vicar-Apostolic menaced refusal of the Sacrament, even on the eve of death!—This covered them with ignominy as apostates—that though frightful to humanity, was yet attended with posthumous renown.

“Religion indignantly wraps herself up in her shroud of deepest mourning, before the idol of Ecclesiastical domination, when she observes the Roman Court sacrificing to its insatiable ambition, the lives of so many heroes, who were worthy of a better fate! *perverting sacraments which were instituted for the salvation of souls into engines of worldly passions, and rendering them subservient to the policy of those passions, and panders to their intrigues.*

Such prostitution of spiritual power a scandal to all religion.

“I can fancy a haughty pontiff on receipt of this humble petition, agitated by contending difficulties: I can fancy him seated under a crimson canopy, surrounded by his sycophants, debating in a secret consistory, whether those unfortunate men shall, or shall not, have permission not to be hanged! The blood of the innocent was now to be shed, or the deposing and absolving doctrines, and all the Bulls and decisions in their favour, to receive a deadly wound, which no ingenuity could parry, no force could avert, and no skill could cure.

The pontiff's alternative under the circumstances then existing.

“Barrister theologues of the Puddle! Blushing beauties of Maynooth! Do let us hear what middle course you would have devised in such existing circumstances!—In the dedication of one of your hodgepodes to Dr.

* Romans, xiii.

His intolerable pride and inhumanity in the course adopted.

Troy, you declare that whatever opinion he dictates, *that opinion is yours*. *A fortiori* your opinions would have been shaped by those of Pope Paul V., who deliberately encouraged the unfortunate priests in Newgate to suffer *death*! to be offered up as victims on the altar of his pride, rather than resign his pretensions to the deposing power, or retract his decrees! The [R.] Catholic religion calumniated on account of the ambition of his court, had travelled barefooted over the Alps and the Appennines, from the dreary cells of a dark and noxious prison, and stood bareheaded and trembling, petitioning for admittance at the haughty portals of the Vatican! Aye, and admittance was refused! Day passed after day, and no answer was received, but that which might be collected from the sullen silence of impenetrable obduracy, and unbending domination! Both Sixtus and Pius V. had addressed their bulls with these magnificent titles—"We who are placed on the supreme throne of justice, enjoying supreme dominion over all the kings, and princes, and states of the whole earth, not by human, but by divine authority," &c. And now how could it be expected that, in compliance with the petition of eleven beggarly priests of the second order, such magnificent titles should be resigned!—No, said the scarlet Cardinal, perish the idea!—Let not an iota be yielded, else we shall lose our worldly dominion, *Venient Romani et tollent nostram gentem et Regnum*. All the pride and pomp, and glory of the Vatican, would then be swept away from off the face of the earth, and what would then be the fate of the thunders of scarlet Cardinals and purple Monsignores?

Its consequences.

"In consequence of this horrible decision, the following innocent *English* clergymen (alas! how many *Irish*) suffered as victims to the domination of Vicars-Apostolic and the fatal influence of the court of Rome.

"I.—*Rev. Mr. Cadwallader*, refusing to take the oath of

allegiance, with a promise of pardon at the place of execution, if he would comply, refused, and in *blind obedience* to Rome, was executed at Leominster, August 27, 1610.

[Here follows *eight* other similar cases. See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii.]

"Let us now consider who, in the eye of unprejudiced reason, was the persecutor and executioner of those unfortunate men—James or the Pope? The question bears not one moment's examination, '*Qui facit per alium facit per se.*'"

On whom we are to throw the responsibility of these proceedings.

"If it should be alleged that the pope pitied those men who died for his worldly maxims of aggrandizement, that he was not cruel by nature but only by policy, and that he would have saved them if he could by money, or at any expense short of the sacrifice of pompous pride, and uncontrollable dominion, my answer is that this aggravates his guilt. *The horrors which hypocritical pride and ambition create, must be laid at the doors of those hypocrites, who disguise their passions with the mask of sanctity, whilst in reality they persecute religion and oppress truth!* Whether Moscow was burned by the French or by the Russians, the invaders are responsible; the necessity originated in them; he who steeps his sword in the blood of nations, because they will not tamely surrender their independence, whether he destroys those nations immediately, by the aid of foreigners, or by his own immediate and lawless dominion, is guilty of the excesses which his outrages have provoked; and he is the more guilty if he executes, with calm deliberation, enormities, which the sudden impetuosity of passion might in some instances palliate, though no provocation could justify.

* He that causeth another to do any thing, is himself the doer of it.

The principles which led to these crimes an aggravation of their atrocity.

"Yes, a *systematic* disregard to the rights of our fellow-creatures, when covered with the mantle of religion, is terrible in its operations. Its watchword is *no quarter*; it spares not either friends or foes, if they should ever manifest a symptom of opposition; every obstacle to its remotest views must be crushed, whatever evils may ensue!—Yes, he who is barbarous by nature, may sometimes be overtaken with compunction, and review his crimes with detestation and horror; but he who destroys his fellow-creatures, or exposes them to destruction for the sake of personal advantages, sanctifying his impiety with the name of religion, imposes a false conscience on himself, by casuistical quibbles, considers the crimes he occasions, and the blood he sheds, as necessary evils; with unfeeling indifference, under the influence of a system, reared by pride, and supported by sophistry, he sees humanity outraged, and religion violated, and he glories with savage exultation in both. . . .

How Dr. O'Conor would have acted, if placed himself in the position of the imprisoned priests;

"Well, says a smooth-faced barrister theologian from Maynooth, what conduct would you pursue, Columbanus, were you one of those eleven prisoners in Newgate? Would you encounter the obloquy of the [R.] Catholics, and carry the stigma of apostacy to your grave? I hope in the mercy of God, that he would enable me to carry that cross, not only with patience, but with cheerfulness also. '*Blessed are they who suffer for righteousness.*' Yes, I might be abandoned even by my friends, but the desert in which I might be condemned to take my solitary walk, would smile around me, and I would offer up my humble prayer in the gladness of my heart.

"I know well what a pang is that of affectionate regard, which experiences no return, but that of calumny and desertion. But *sursum corda*! I would look up to Him, the Mighty One, who will crown the invisible martyrdom of a worried spirit; to Him who will sooth the

troubles of a heart which desires no consolation from present popularity, and which looks only to futurity for posthumous reward.

"To my companions in Newgate, I would read S. Bernard's book *de considerations*, in which he shews that popes, and much less bishops, have no absolute authority over God's heritage, but are themselves subject to the laws of the Church. I would read for them the letter of Gerbert, who was afterwards Pope Silvester II., to the Archbishop of Sens, in which he says—'Does it follow that because Pope Marcellinus apostatized to Paganism we are to follow his example.' I say decidedly, that if a pope offend against a brother Christian, and being repeatedly admonished, hearken not to the Church, he ought to be held as a pagan: the higher his rank, the more tremendous his fall. What if he should declare us unworthy his communion, unless in obedience to him we violate the rules of justice, he cannot therefore separate us from the communion of Jesus Christ."

and how far he would have regarded papal opinions.

It may be necessary for the sake of some readers to observe here, that the Doctors of the Church of Rome are by no means the only ones who claim for the sovereign spiritual authority in their communion this power of deposing secular princes. The true scriptural and catholic doctrine, that the great KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS, "*from whom ALL power is derived,*" is also "*the ONLY ruler of princes,*" is not less unsavoury in the nostrils of others far removed in many respects from any liking for the general doctrines of Rome. The truth of this remark will be sufficiently obvious from a reference to the murder

The disciples of Rome not the only meddlers, on "religious" grounds, with the rights of royalty.

of King Charles the First of England. And it may likewise be very strikingly illustrated from the sentiments expressed in a *Declaration*, publicly set forth by some of the Covenanting party in Scotland a few years afterwards. A portion of it, as a specimen of the views of that party on the subject in question, is here subjoined. The original document itself was read aloud, and then posted up at the cross of Sanquhar, by Mr. James Renwick, a most eminent preacher and leader of the Covenanters, on the 28th of May, 1685.

Specimen of
a "Cove-
nanter's"
Bull of de-
position of
a king of
England.

"A few wicked and unprincipled men having proclaimed James Duke of York, though a professed Papist and excommunicated person, to be king of Scotland, &c., we the contending and suffering remnant of the pure Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, do here deliberately, jointly and unanimously protest against the foresaid proclamation, in regard that it is choosing a murderer to be a governor, who hath shed the blood of the saints; the height of confederacy with an idolater, which is forbidden in the law of God; contrary to the Declaration of the Assembly of 1649, and to many wholesome and laudable acts of Parliament; and inconsistent with the safety, faith, conscience, and Christian liberty of a Christian people to choose a subject of Antichrist to be their supreme magistrate. And further, seeing bloody Papists, the subjects of Antichrist, are become so hopeful, bold, and confident under the perfidy of the said James Duke of York, and Popery itself like to be intruded again upon these covenanted lands; and an open door being made thereunto by its accursed and

abjured harbinger Prelacy, which these three kingdoms are equally sworn against, we do in like manner protest against all kinds of Popery in general, and particular heads, &c. &c. &c.," all which expressions of sentiment Mr. James Renwick's biographer justifies by asking, "Was not the Revolution Settlement founded on the very principles contained in these declarations? And did not the whole nation do, in 1688, on a larger scale, what the Covenanters did on a small scale?"—*Life of Mr. Renwick*, pp. 88, 89. *Vid.* No. IV. *sup.*

We have neither space, wish, nor need to enter on these questions here. Only it may be remarked, that, making full allowance for the differences existing between the relative positions of the Church of Rome and the Covenanters, towards the Crown of these realms, there will remain, after all, a curious analogy between the recorded sentiments of these respective parties on the subject of regal excommunication, deposing power, &c.: in order to see which very clearly, it is only necessary to read over the words of the preceding declaration, substituting for "James, Duke of York, &c.," "the Princess Elizabeth, although a professed Protestant;" for "we the pure Presbyterians, &c.," we "Pius V., &c.;" for "idolater," "heretic;" for "acts of parliament, &c.," "decrees and canons of the universal Church, or judgments and sentences of her most famous doctors, universities, &c.;" for "prelacy," the "oath of allegiance," &c. &c.

The parallel between this and similar manifestoes from Rome.

No. LXIV.

NOTICE OF ONE OF THE EARLY CONGREGATIONS OF THE MODERN
ROMAN CONNECTION IN IRELAND.

Circum-
stances of
the times in
which oc-
curred the
transaction
below re-
corded,

as described
in the depo-
sition of
Shane
O'Donnelly.
Oct. 22, 1612.

In that useful and interesting collection the *Desiderata Curiosa*, (Dublin, 1762,) we find, (in vol. i. p. 394,) a very authentic and sufficiently remarkable notice of the Sunday proceedings of one of the primitive congregations of the modern Romish ecclesiastical organization in Ireland; proceedings which took place just at the time when arrangements were in a forward state of progress for extending their newly introduced episcopacy and priesthood throughout this island, and which, as illustrating in a very striking manner the condition of ecclesiastical affairs in the country at that time, appears well deserving of a place in this collection of records. The notice we refer to occurs in the form of depositions taken before Sir Toby Caulfield, an individual well known to the reader of the history of Ireland at that period, as member for Armagh in the parliament of 1613, as one of the grantees who obtained lands in the Plantation, &c. &c. This document is transferred by Mr. Phelan to a note in his "*Policy*," (pp. 262, 263,) in his

own usual careless and random way of quoting. It is here inserted as given in the original work.

"The Examination of Shane McPhelomy O'Donnelly, taken before me Sir Toby Caulfield, Knt., October 22, 1613.

"Shane McPhelomy O'Donnelly saith, That about the end of May last past, upon the Sunday, he was at mass at the Glynn in Bryan McGwyre's country between the county of Fermanagh and Tyrone, where Tirlaugh McCrodden, a fryer there, lately come from beyond seas, said the mass, and was preaching most part of the same day; and in his sermon he declared that he was sent from the pope to persuade them that they should never alter their religion, but take the pope to be their true head, and rather go into rebellion than change their religion; and that the English service proceeded from the seducement of the devil, and did earnestly exhort them upon pain of damnation, to stand on their keeping rather than alter their religion. At which mass there assembled (as he thinketh) 1000 people of all Fermanagh except himself and one Shane Roe O'Quinn, son to Cale O'Quinn, who accompanied Neale McTirlaugh, Nuis O'Neale of the Largye; which Neale McTirlaugh upon these speeches uttered by the friar, spake aloud, saying — 'God be thanked we heard this mass; God be blessed such a one as you came amongst us to give us this council; for our parts we will rather go into rebellion, and be eaten with dogs and cats, rather than go to the English service to hear the devil's words.' And the said Shane Roe O'Quinn said the very same words after him. And the fryer had at that day given him at the least two hundred cows and garrons. This examinant, and one Dowaltagh O'Donnelly and Neal O'Flanigan, were pre-

T. McCrodden, Romish friar, holds a conventicle on the borders of the Co. Fermanagh.

His pious exhortations,

and copious self, on this occasion.

His reference to the parliamentary agitation of the same year,

and promises of aid for rebels from beyond seas.

A prophecy to help the cause.

sent, and will justify as much as is here set down. He further saith that the fryer told them that the parliament was coming, and that it was a thing invented on purpose to cozen them and to bring them from their religion, and earnestly exhorted them not to be led thereby, but stand fast and join together and that God was on their side; and that there was certain money imposed for the expences of men gone into England* for the cause of religion and the charges of the knights of the shire, four pence on every couple. He exhorted them to pay it willingly and speedily, as it was God's business they went about. He told them that the cattle which they had given him was for the maintenance of fryers beyond the seas, and that the pope would be highly pleased with the gifts they bestowed to so godly purposes. And further saith that he vehemently exhorted them not to be afraid of any thing, for Tyrone was coming, therefore willed them to be merry and of good courage; and for the English, they were to have no rule or power over them, but for two years. And further said, that he found by his reading in books at Rome, a prophecy that the English should surcease their rule in Ireland when a bridge was built over the river at Liffer, and that the king of Spain had eighteen thousand men in arms, ready to come over, whereof Tyrone should be the chief; and that he would come within a year and a quarter, and land at four ports in Ireland, the names whereof this examinant hath forgotten, and would overthrow the English; and have Ireland to himself. This deponent saith, that the money 4d. a couple, is gathered by the *sheriffs bailiffs in the county of Fermanagh*. All these speeches were uttered by the said fryer Tirlaugh McCrodden openly in his sermon, and that Connor Roe McGuire

* As mentioned at pp. 881, '2, sup.

and Bryan McCoghonett McGwyre were present from the first to the last.

"TOBY CAULFIELD.

"11 October, anno 1613, he preached the like again." Another sermon.

This worthy, friar M'Crodden, will be found again briefly noticed in Art. LXVI. *inf.* If we estimate the "200 cows and garrons" at the very moderate value of £5 each, of our present money, it will appear that no less a sum than £1000 was collected on this occasion, from this one congregation of the people of Fermanagh, towards "the maintenance of fryers beyond the seas;"—a pretty considerable sum certainly for such a time, such an object, and such contributors, independently of the "4d. a couple," which was levied on the same people, at the same time, for kindred uses.

Value of the collection made by this successful impostor.

No. LXV.

SOME PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE STATE OF THE HIBERNO-ROMISH COMMUNITY IN THE YEARS 1607—1613.

(From the *M.S. E. 3. 15. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.*)

Some very interesting information relative to the circumstances and statistics of the modern Irish branch of the Church of Rome, in Ireland

Of the contents of the document here cited. A.D. 1613.

and abroad, at the period of the flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and subsequently, is preserved in the MS. above specified, in a paper bearing the following superscription :—

Its date and
authorship.

“Of the 24th of June, 1613.

“A declarac'on of some thinges proper for the tyme made by Thomas Fitz Edmond Fitzgerald Franciscan frier.

“The like to this is by me sent to the Lo : of Rochester to be imparted to the king's matie.”

Note of
some parti-
culars con-
nected with
the narra-
tive sub-
joined.

[Fitz Gerald seems to have been apprehended and in custody of the government when he put forward this document, as he speaks of certain, who (through envy, as he supposed,) “brought me,” says he, “to this passe wherein I am now p'sonner depending of youre most clement mercy.” The paper seems like a confession made when his keepers were desirous to extort information from him about the state of Romish affairs in Ireland, &c. This Fitz Gerald had, as he tells us, gone abroad in 1607, (having the Lord Deputy's license for leaving the realm,* and also some commendatory letters from David Kearney, titular archbp. of Cashel, &c.,) to France, and thence to Louvain. He returned

* Vid. p. 1320 sup.

to Ireland, it seems, before 1610, as the marginal dates in his tract indicate. The first extract here given contains his account of O'Neill's reception in foreign parts after his flight.]

"I had alsoe bretherin friends and coosins beyond seas w'ch in theire l'tres to me dispaired of O'NEALE's attempts. He was uppon his first comming to Brussles, kindly intertayned and colloured his flight with the zeale of religion vntyll the kings royall matie informed by l'tres the Archdugur of his rebellious attempt, whereuppon the Archdugur commaunded the fugitive away, but by l'tres out of Spaine they were called backe againe. At leinght it was thought fitt to the Spaniard being uppon conclusion of peace with the Hollandors and uppon banishing of the Moores and smelling the French king's designments, to content his gracious Matie by tounring the said Tyrone and his associats out of his dominions Comming to Rome being at first much graced the Pope allowed to such as lived of his trayne and company and to himselfe howse, bred, and wine, and the kinge of Spayne certaine peno'ns of monny by the moneth, the Said Tyrone fell first at Rome to debate with PEETER LUMBARD primate of Ardmagh concearning the temporall land of that Sea, and after discoursed howe unwilling he was to have any of the Englishe commanders in the Irishe regiment, whereupon many were displaced, which wrought in many great iealousie and discontent and unwillingness to further his p'tencions: halfe a yeare after his suite grew coude with the Spainiards, and could get no intertaynement for his gentlemen, but to tourne them from Italy to serve in the Irishe regimt. The Pope alsoe excusing himselfe with the feare of France and Venesions p'mising a succour only of a million of Crownes as I was crediably informed. TYRONE then hart broken solicited

H. O'Neill's reception at Brussels after his flight from Ireland.

His arrival at Rome, and mode of life there.

His intercourse with P. Lombard.

His jealousy of the English Romanists, and its effects.

His idle "gentlemen"

obliged to
work for
their bread.

His unsuc-
cessful ap-
plications to
foreign
powers.

He gets two
archbishops
created for
the nascent
Romish es-
tablishment
in Ireland ;

and em-
ploys them
to beg aid
for him
abroad.

Their suc-
cess being
small, the
consecration
of Four
others is
projected.

the Duke of Florence wch seemed in the first to like the motion but at leinght excused himselfe. The Spaniard then grewe jealousue wth Tyrone for his proffer made to the said Duke seekinge to bringe neere their nose vnto Ireland soe powerfull and so ambic'ous a man as the Great Duke is indeede, after theise things being dead [i. e. done] TYRONE obtayned from the Pope's Holiness the creac'on of two Archbps : thone FLORENCE CONNERY borne in O'Rourke's countrey was consecrated Archbp : of Tuaim, and the other Doctor OWEN M'C MAHOWNA borne in the North was created Archbp : of Dublin, The first he ymployed vnto Spaine and the last vnto Flanders to sollicit his suite, Whereas yet they effected nothing but of late an increase of Tyrone is penc'on to 500 Crownes a moneth. The Primate and he being of late reconciled the one to the other as one that came from thence of late tould me, despayring of all other assistances plotted to have foure Bps : more consecrated, and yt they should goe from Bp : to Bp : throughout Italy France, Hollanders and Spayne to see what they would contribute for the restoring of this land to the Romane Church, but as yet these Bps : are not consecrated only I understood yt the Primate is come to Madrid and has obtayned liscence for Tyrone to come downe from Italy to courte. But there is notwithstanding noe hope of his suite." [Why, Fitzgerald then proceeds to shew, his object being partly to prove that there was no danger of a new rebellion at that time.]

A little further on in the same paper commences the "*Relac'on of the Ecclesiasticall state in common and in p'ticuller,*" as follows :—

Number &c.
of persons

"Concerninge the Ecclesiasticall state wee are in the kingdome manny sorts that the one dependeth not of

the other. Bernardins some eight or nyne verrie good schollers, Jesuits some two and twenty good schollers, of our order of St. Frances some six score, and of them some twelve good schollars: ev'ry order gov'ned by his owne superiour and Chapter; of priests aboute foure hundred, some ignorant and some learned; In this land thereis noe Bp: of our religion, but DAVID KEARNEY, Archbp: of Cashell, for the primate of Ardmagha FLORENCE Archbp: of Tuaine OWEN Archbp: of Dublin CORNELIUS Bp of Killaloe doe live beyond the seas, They have in this kingdome theire vicars genrall, RICHARD CARRALD for Dublin MATHEW CRAGH for Killaloe, There are alsoe in other diocese Vicar generals appointed by the said archbishopps. In Corke ROBT. MEAGH in Kerrie RICHARD CONNEL, in Limerike RICHARD ARTHUR, in Ross JAMES KEARNIE, in Imoaly, JOHN FITZ DAVID, in Lissmore and Waterford Doctor WHITE in Kilkenny LUKE ARCHER, in Laghlen Doctor MORIERTAGH, in Meath RICHARD BROWNE, in Elfine OWEN M'C BRIAN, in Clonfeart DERMOTT O'DOLEANE, in Killmacuo FARGUSIUS KEAGAN, in Fearnis JAMES WALSH, These be gracious matte that joyning w'th the said Archbp: of Casshell, DAVID ROTH, the Pope's prothonotary and Jesuits that gov'ne the people that receave fines out of Ecclesiasticall living sand Abbyes, they that make spirituall lawes that have correspondency beyond the seas, that sends and receaves l'tres. They never admit us the poore friers to theire chapters, they never ymp'te [i. e. impart] vnto vs theire mynde they keepe us from the administrac'on of the Sacramts and yf they could for shame from preaching the Gospell it is they that suspends the Juryes for p'senting of recusants. It is they that p'vented the ellection of protestants for the parlyamt we the poore Franciscans have noe dealing in their gov'mnt; living poore upon almes though earnest in our religion and in preaching the same daiely prayeing for the Kings

of the various Eccl. Orders in Ireland.

No Romish bp. in Ireland at this time, save D. Kearney. Four others resident abroad. Names of titular "vicars general" in various Irish sees at the same period.

David Kearney and David Roth, said to be the chief instigators of seditious and schismatical mischief in the kingdom.

Royall p'son progenie and Councell as we will dutiefullie
for evermore. 24 June 1618.

"FR. THOMAS FITZ GERALD."

No. LXVI.

SUNDRY LISTS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL EMISSARIES OF ROME EM-
PLOYED IN IRELAND IN A.D. 1610-1613.

(from the same MS.)

Some notice
of the MS.
in which the
following
matters are
to be found.

The MS. from which the matter of the preceding Article is transcribed was anciently classed under the lettering D. 1. 14, and afterwards as L. 59 : it is now, however, bound up with other matter, so as to form the second portion of the present E. 3. 15 : which portion was originally numbered by folios from 1 to 33. The "Declarac'on" of Thomas Fitzgerald given in the last article occupies from folio 24. 1. *med.* to f. 28. 2, *top.* Peter Lombard's Commission to D. Rothe (No. 62, sup.) is on the last fol. (33.) The "Exhortation and Remission to the Catholiques of Ireland" commences on fol. 4, middle of page 1, and ends on fol. 5, middle of page 2. A good deal of the MS. is taken up with curious lists of the priests, friars, &c. of Rome, employed in Ireland at the period referred to in the last Article. Of these lists the most important portions are

here subjoined, with notes indicating the portion of the original MS. which they occupy, and the places where they may be found respectively in that record.

On fol. 6, p. 1, *med.* or lower, commences the following:—

“No: 1613.

“*The names of Sundrie priests and friers w'thin some dioces and counties of Ireland.*

“That you may see what numbers of priests were come over, and whether yt were not tyme to looke to their seducinge of the subjects.

“In the countie of } “*A note of the names of severall priests and*
Erris. } *religious men that live in the province of Mounster.*

“RICHARD CONNELL a philosopher and a divine Vicar generall of the diocese of Artfeart.

[Then follows for the same county, a list of the names of 21 others, priests, Franciscans, &c.; among whom “Friar THOMAS FITZ EDMOND GERRALD,* preacher of the order of St. Francis.”]

“In the county of } “RICHARD ARTHURE vicar-generall of the
Timrirk. } diocese of Limerick.”

[followed by a list of 23 priests, friars, &c. including “JOHN FITZ DAVID”† of the order of St. Dominic.]

“In the county of } “ROBERT MIAGH vicar generall of the dio-
Erris. } cesse of Cluaine and Corck.

* Vid. pp. 1345 seqq. sup.

† Vid. p. 1349, sup.

"JAMES KEARNY,* vicar generall of Ross."

[With 28 others, priests. &c.]

"In the county of } "Doctor JAMES WHITE vicar generall of
Waterford. } Lismore and Waterford,"

[With 26 others, priests, jesuits, monks of S. Bernard, 1 Augustin, Franciscans, &c.]

"In the countie of } "DAVID KEARNAIE, archbushoppe of Cas-
Tipperarie, } sell."

[With 22 others, jesuits, priests, "Doctor Keating,"† &c. ending thus: "and many other whose names I forgott."]

"In the county of } "MAHON MACRACH vicar generall of the
Clarr, } diocese of Killalowe,

[And 18 others, 6 of them "franciscan simple friers and verrie old," after whom immediately follows in like order ;—]

"A note of some priestes and religious men that doe ordinarilie live in the province of Connaught.

"In the county of } "FRANCES O'MOLLEAGHLIN vicar generall
Galway, } of Tuame,"

[And 26 others, priests, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, &c. including "Rowland Boorek provinciall of the order of St. Dominicks."]

"In the county of } "HENRY BRANNAGH preacher,"
Maye, }

[And 6 others.]

"A note of such as dwell in severall countiees of the province of Linster.

* Noticed at p. 1349 sup. ; and so of the others following.

† This was the famous Dr. Geoffry Keating, author of Keating's History of Ireland, who was living and performing the offices of a parish priest, at the period here mentioned, on the confines of Tipperary and Limerick.

"In the countye of } "DAVID ROTH prothonotarie from the
 Milkeny, } pope for the bussnes of this realme.

"LUKE ARCHER, vicar of Osseries,"

[And 28 others, priests, Jesuits, Franciscans, &c.]

"In the county of } "JAMES WALSH vicar generall of Fearnese."
 Wexford, }

[And 12 besides, including one Bernardine Abbott,
 Jesuits, Franciscans, &c.]

"In the county of } "ROBERT LAWLER priest."
 Wiltshire, }

[2 other priests and 2 Jesuits.]

"In the county of } "JOHN PRESTON preacher of the order of
 Dublin, } S. Frances,"

[And 16 others, including "Christopher Holly-
 wood, provinciall of the Jesuits."]

"In the county of } "RICHARD BROWNE vicar generall,"
 Westmorland, }

[And 14 others.]

"In the county of } "DOCTOR MURISON preacher,"
 Limerick, }

[And 6 Franciscan Friars, of whom one is "TIL-
 LAGE CRODAN.†"]

"I remember noe more of theire names
 though I knowe manie of them in other counties."

[These lists of names occupy 7 pages, ending with fol. 9.
 On fol. 10 we find the following, commencing at the head
 of page 1.]

* The individual here named was no doubt the same as was concerned in the pro-
 secution recorded at p. 860 sup. It may be in consequence of that action that he is
 here simply named priest, although placed at the head of the list for this county,
 where in the other cases we find mostly a "vicar generall."

† i.e. the preacher, I suppose, whose acquaintance we formed in No. LXIV. sup.

"A note of Archbushoppes and Bushoppes of Ireland consecrated and Authorised by the Pope.

"A note of Bushoppes appointed by the Sea of Rome for this Realme of Ireland.

"PETER LOMBARD borne in Waterforde, Primate of Ardmagh, nowe resident in Rome, and releved by the Pope his hollines.

"DAVID KEARNAY borne in Cassell, Archbushoppe of Cassell, now resident in the county of Tipperary and is releved by vicar generall of the Province of Mounstar by the privie tyethes of his Bushoppricke, and by a stocke of his owne which he brought from beyond the seas, being formerly a rich Chanon of Lille in Flanders.

"OWEN MAC MAHOWNE borne in Ulster Archbushoppe of Dublin nowe resident in Lovaine and has a stipend montely from the archduke of Austria.

"FLORENCE CONNERY borne in Connaught Archbushoppe of Tuaine has his reliefe montellie from the king of Spaine, being resident in his Courte.

"CONNOGHOR O'MULRIAN borne in the county of Crosse* Bushoppe of Killalowe, resident is Lisbone lives by a peno'on from the kinge of Spaine from the Archbushoppe of that cittye.

"Elected Bushoppes but not as yet consecrated.

"DAVID ROTH elected of Ossery, resident thereabouts is releved from friend to friend, and by his office of prothonotarieshippe, and privie tyethes.

"HUGH CONGILL ellected of Durie lives in a frierie in Lovaine, a reader of devinitie.

"RICHARD ARTHURE ellected of Limericke resident there and is releved by special friends and kinsemen of his owne, and by privie tyethes.

* i.e. Tipperary, so called from Holy Cross Abbey.

"THOMAS WALSH elected of Waterford and is there releevd by his friends and by a stipend he receaves for ministering sacraments and preaching to the p'rish of the Cathedrall Church.

"JAMES WALSH elected of Fearnese lives by privy tyethes and by the helpes of his friends.

"JAMES PLUNCKETT elected of Killmore lives by privie tyethes and his function.

"THOMAS CRAH elected of Artfeart and lives by preaching only the Gosples.

"THOMAS DEIS elected of Meath, and lives in Parrish, president of Colledge of Fortet, and has a pension from a Lord Abbot.

"The ordinarie priests doe live commonly by minis- How the
tringe Sacraments, receaving from ev'ry howse in their priests were
p'ishes 12d. or at the moste 2s. besides ijs for ev'ry mar- supported;
riage, and 12d when the women are churched, and are
farr richer then the prelates and preachers whose privie
tyethes can scarce releve them w'thout privat Almes.

"The Jesuits doe live by preaching the Gosples upp and and how
downe the countries and by privie tyethes out of the the Jesuits,
suppressed Abbayes of the Realme and dispencing in ma-
trimoniall causes, and by vsing many extraordinary
facultyes they have from the Pope as hallowing of
Churches, Alters, Callices, absolving from irregulari-
ties, &c.

"The vicar generall they live by privie tyethes from The "vi-
their dioceses, and have some yearly helpe from the cars-gene-
p'ishe priests, and fines for any abuse committed by any ral,"
of their flocks.

"The poore Friars doe live only by begginge of Corne the mendi-
muttons and such other almes. cant friars.

"The Colledges beyondes are now and then releevd and the Col-
by almes collected uppou the Soundayes in the Cities and leges be-
uppou any great meetings by the direction of the Vicar yond seas.
generalls.

Some notice
of the stu-
dents in
them, and
their way
of living.

"As for the p'ticuller remembrance of such as are beyond the seas in the Colledges I doe not well call to mynd but for the Lo: they have none of their children, saving the Lo: of Trimlestowne he had one in my tyme in the Colledge of Doway.

"There are hundredes in the Colledges whose names I sawe the last lent from Waterford, Limerick, Clonmell, Corck, Gallway, Kilkeny, and Drogheda, and from the countryes abroad throughout the Realme and I am sure yt- thereis noe worthy gent. in all the realme nor m'chant but have there somme of theire neerest kinsemen, but what in the p'ticuller is sent unto them is the porc'on there fathers doe leave them, and some collections that yearely is taken upp for them, and with this they live togeather w'th c'taine pensions that is allowed unto the Colledges by the kinge and princes in whose dominions they are.

The Bi-
shops, how
provided for.

"But as for the Bushoppes, Jesuits, friars they received not a penny from out of this land, but are releevd by the bountie of the princes throughout Christendome where they dwell, and by the prelates of the Cloysters wherein they receive theire orders.

"Finis."

List of Ro-
manist
priests in
Waterford,
and their
several
abodes.

[Then on the same fol. (11, p. 1, *med.*) commences the following document, referring to an earlier date, and yet, it would seem, properly assignable to a later one, as "Doctor White" appears now not as "vicar generall," but "bishop,"

of Waterford; unless bishop stand for titular bishop elect.]

" June 1610. *The names of such priests as are resident in Waterford and the howses they lodge in.*

" *Priests iesuytts &c. Waterford and in whose howses lodged.*

" 1. Doctor WHITE Bp. of Waterford :
Lieth at ANSTAIE STRONGE'S
widdowe."

[Followed by the names of 29 others, entered in like form, and including mostly those given in the former list for Waterford (mentioned at p. 1352 sup.)]

[On the same fol. 11. p. 2. *med.* commences]

" *A note of the names of the priests* Similar lists
Semynaryes friers and Jesuits, toge- for Kil-
ther with their Relievers and mayn- kenny city.
tayners in the citty of Kilkeny, vizt.

" *Imprimis* one DAVID ROCHE, titular bushopp of Osserye, keepeth for the most p'te with his brother EDWARD ROCH merchant (when he is in the citty) and when he is abroad, with the Ld Viscount MOUNT-GARRETT at Balline.

" It'm Doctor WHITE a sedicious priest when he resorteth to the citty, keepeth with his brother in lawe, HENRY SHEE, Esq. now Maior of the citty.

[Then follow the names of 15 others, entered similarly, the common priests having Sr. mostly prefixed to their names. The ninth entry in the list is as follows :—]

“It'm SR. LAWRENCE REINAGHAN supposed generall vicar from the Pope, keepeth in the said citty saying open Masse and is releevd especially by Mr. THOMAS ARCHER FITZWALTER, and hath an annual stipend from the said citty.”

[After the above immediately follows, f. 12, p. 2—]

and for the
county of
Kilkenny.

*“A note of the names of such priests
Semynaryes. friars and Jesuits, to-
geather with their releevs and main-
tayners as are in the county of Kil-
kenny.*

“IMPRIMIS one DAVID KEARNEY a titular archbushopp of Cassell keepeth for the most p'te at the upper Court with LUCAS SHEA, Esq.”

[Then follow the names of about 34 others, with similar notes of their abodes, &c.; of which the following are specimens, ending with that which occurs last in this list.]

“Item Sr. RICHARD MARUB, priest keepeth with Mr. JAMES BUTLER gent. brother to the Lo: MOUNTGARBETT, alsoe he maintayneth one Sr. MAT-

THEW ROCHE priest, whose goeth once ev'ry years into Spaine.

"Item Mr. BROOKESBERRY of Castle-liffe keepeth an Englishe priest whose name is unknowne, to whom doe resorte the Barron of BURN CHURCH and his tennants ev'rye Sonday.

"THOMAS MC DONOGHE vice Primate of Ardmagh, a Franciscan frier. He keepes commonly in the Cantred of Clonmel—a great preacher."

[The above list ends on fol. 13. p. 2. On the preceding page the following marginal note by the same hand is added in connection with the same list :—]

"Thereis 60 or 70 priests at this day w'thin the cantred of Clonmell, whereof 25 *have bene made w'thin this year of 1613.* Affirmed by Mr. Pierce Butler nowe made sheriff of the Crosse, [*i. e.* Tipperary,] who promiseth to certifie theire names if yt be requisit."

25 Romish priests made for the cantred of Clonmel in one year, 1613.

[The lists thus given for Kilkenny city and county contain many of the same names as those already given in a former list. They are followed by some other short lists of less interest,

containing merely the names of some "Romishe priests" maintained in Wexford and Ross, "souldiors, schollers," &c., departed out of the kingdom, and remaining in Doway, Louvain, Paris, &c.

Note of certain Romt. priests harbouring about Westmeath.

On fol. 15. p. 1. commences "*A note of Divers priests and fryers who are for the moste p'te in and neere the borders of Westmeath.*" The third on the list is, "THOMAS FITZ GERRALD, a franciscan fryar,* that useth moste in Mounster." The fifth, "ROWLAND BOURK a titular Bp. in Connaught." The twelfth relates to TIRLAUGH M'CRODDEN, and is as follows :—]

T. M'Crodden's doings noticed ;

"TIRLAUGH M'CREDAN, a franciscan frier lately come over from beyond the seas, and is resident in the north and hath lately had divers unlawfull meetings and assemblies uppon hills in sev'all countyes where he hath preached, and divers other priests had bin in his companye, saying masse† unto great numbers of the natyves whoe hath bene assembled togeather."

The 14th entry in this catalogue refers to DAVID ROTH, and is worth transcribing, to the following effect :—

and also D. Rothe's.

"There is one DAVID ROTH, a moste sedicious Instrum't whoe was sent from Rome, since Tyrone's aboade there, he takes uppon him the name and authority of

* See No. LXV. sup. pp. 1346, 1350. † See No. LXIV. sup. p. 1342.

Prothonotarius Apostolicus, to heare and determyne all ecclesiasticall bussines for the kingdome of Ireland,* and he hath bene in the north since his arryvall, but is nowe (for the moste p'te in Mounster.)"

Our limits forbid the annexing of any comments on the above lists, further than to insert a brief note from O'Sullevan's "Compendium," concerning the number of priests of Rome employed in Ireland about that time. Having first noticed (in a passage immediately following that quoted at p. 902 sup.) the extraordinary zeal and exertions of the regular orders, (particularly the Dominicans, whom he puts foremost, as the most active in the work, and the Franciscans, the most numerous and popular, and the Jesuits; besides whom are noticed also, though less numerous, the Bernardines, Augustines, and priests of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Benedictines,) O'Sullevan proceeds to the following observation, as to the strength of the Romish clerical body then resident in Ireland:—

Statement of O'Sullevan concerning the activity of the Romish priests, religious orders, &c., in Ireland, A.D. 1621.

"The number of clergy is large and in a flourishing state. How many ecclesiastics there may be altogether, I indeed cannot say;—no, nor the English themselves, with all their diligence in priesthunting. This I am not ignorant of, that a thousand one hundred and sixty

He says the English had made out lists containing 1160 names of

* No. LXII. sup. p. 1321, and No. LXV. p. 1349.

such persons.

names, of priests, religious persons, and clerks, with those of their parents and protectors, have been collected by the English in their searches; and that the inquiries made after them have been pursued with no other object than that of ruining those priests and their protectors by every artifice which can be employed for the purpose, &c." T. 4, l. 1, c. 17.

Miserable condition of the Reformed (Irish) Church of the same period.

While such extraordinary zeal and activity was exhibited by the members of the Romish communion in Ireland, for the promotion of their influence and objects, a most painful contrast is to be found in the conduct of others professing to belong to the Reformed Church, and unfortunately permitted to continue in outward connection with its body. In what way the interests of religion were handled by such persons, may be illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Bp. Bramhall to Bp. Laud, dated from "Dublin Castle, August the 10th, 1633." Speaking of the Irish Churches, the bishop observes:—

Bp. Bramhall's testimony as to the profanation and ruin of her sacred edifices.

A D. 1633.

"First for the fabricks, it is hard to say whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent, even in Dublin, the metropolis of the kingdom and seat of justice. To begin the inquisition, where the reformation will begin, we find our parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling house, the choir of a third to a tennis court, and the vicar acts the keeper.

"In Christ Church, the principal Church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and Council repair every Sunday, the vaults from one end of the minster to the other,

are made into tippling rooms for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of divine service, that though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table used for the administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices. . . . This being the case in Dublin, your lordship will judge what we may expect in the country." Mant, Vol. 1, p. 448. Collier, part II. book ix. p. 760.

No. LXVII.

OF THE TITULAR SYNOD OF KILKENNY, A.D. 1614.

Of the titular synod of the province of Leinster, holden at Kilkenny in A.D. 1614, of which a brief notice is introduced into the text at pp. 898, '9, sup., the subjoined more copious account is furnished by Mr. Brennan, (*Ec. Hist. of Id. Dub. 1840, Vol. 2, pp. 238, 243,*) who gives as his authority the *Constitutiones Prov. et Synod. Anno. 1685, (i.e. of the papal clergy in the province of Leinster.)*

Mr. Brennan's acct. of the Synod of Kilkenny, A.D. 1614.

"In the year 1614 during the intolerant administration of Chichester, a Synod of the Province of Leinster was held in Kilkenny, attended by the Suffragan [titr.] prelates and at which Eugene Matthews [titr.] Archbishop of Dublin presided. The *first* Statute refers to the decrees of the Council of Trent which were to be observed with reverence; but whereas there were some ordinances

Its resolutions relative to

the decrees of Trent;

which in this country could not be enforced, (such as the decree regarding clandestinity) these are left to the discretion of the ordinary. *Secondly*, besides the Vicar general a vicar foreign [i.e. a rural dean] is to be chosen in each deanery, who shall be authorised to preside over the priests intrusted with the cure of souls. *Thirdly*, those parishes which remain destitute of a pastor [i.e. probably, where many of the flock rebel against a pastor for having conformed] may be recommended to the clergy of the neighbouring parishes, or the ordinary should if convenient, procure the temporary assistance of priests from another diocese. *Fourthly*, that the Sacrament of Baptism be no longer administered by immersion, and that from the Kalends of October in said year, this sacrament is to be conferred by infusion. *Fifthly* that in future no priest shall under any pretext or even in case of necessity, presume to celebrate the holy Sacrifice twice on the same day without a regular license obtained from the ordinary, &c. . . . *Sixthly*, from henceforth, no chalices shall be consecrated that are not made of silver, or at least the cup thereof, together with the paten. *Seventhly*, 'and because the awful circumstances of the times oblige us frequently to celebrate the divine mysteries under the open air,' those places are, on all such occasions to be selected, which shall appear the most safe and becoming; the altar moreover must be covered almost on all sides, so that it may thereby be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather. *Eighthly*, [prisoners 'not having the opportunity of a priest' may, if penitent, have the B. Eucharist sent them privately by a layman, &c.] *Ninthly*, [clandestine marriages to be punished with excommunication, banns to be published, &c.] *Tenthly*, whereas a great scarcity of pastors universally prevails in these days of affliction, it is on that account advisable that the ordinaries confer with the superiors of the regular orders and thereby obtain a supply of priests necessary for

appoint-
ment of
rural deans,

and officiat-
ing clergy-
men ;

holy bap-
tism ;

celebration
of the mass ;

chalices ;

places for
worship ;

prisoners ;

marriage ;

supply of
pastors ;

the due discharge of the pastoral duties in each diocess. *Eleventhly*, that the faithful may be well acquainted with the festivals of obligation, it is decreed that the following enumeration of them be published: all Sundays throughout the year, &c., &c. . . . *Twelfthly*, the days on which the faithful are bound to fast are thus enumerated: all days in lent except Sundays, &c. &c. . . . Finally the respective ordinaries are strictly enjoined to put these Statutes into immediate execution, and cause them to be diligently observed by all persons within the sphere of their jurisdiction. These constitutions were ratified in the several provincial Synods which were held at subsequent periods in this century, under Thomas Fleming, Peter Talbot, and Patrick Russell, [titr.] Archbps. of of Dublin."

Festivals;

Fasting
days.and enforce-
ment of
these
Canons.

Some diversities may be observed between this account and that given in the text, neither, it is probable, being very exact in regard to the words, &c., of the original. Indeed from the inverted commas used under the *seventh* head here, it would seem that the passage enclosed between them was the only one given by Mr. Brennan from the document in question in its own words.

The above
account
how far ac-
curate.

Among the canons of one of the latter synods above noticed, held under Archbishop Russell (and given by Mr. Brennan at p. 242,) about A.D. 1685, there occurs one worth noticing here, as illustrative of the manner in which the new race of priests then coming to occupy the titles of Irish parishes were in the habit, it seems, of

Canon of
Abp. Rus-
sell, relative
to the mode
of getting
possession
of parishes
by the
Romish
clergy.
A.D. 1685.

securing for themselves the possession of such titular benefices : the Synod enacts ;—

“ That no priest having possession of a parish for three years, shall on that account presume to acquire a right to that parish without a regular collation obtained from the ordinary, and that all such as have not as yet received a formal collation must procure one within six months or be deposed.”.

Some such rule, it seems, was needed for promoting the necessary unity of discipline and organization in the new ecclesiastical system just then arising into being through the country.

No. LXVIII.

ENUMERATION OF THE FOUNDERS AND ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE
IRISH TITULAR EPISCOPATE.

The Fathers of the titular Episcopate in Ireland, why noticed here.

It might appear invidious, and at least liable to misconception on the part of the ignorant, if we were to give the reader no notice whatsoever of at least the names, of the principal individuals who, after the acceptance of the reformed religion by the Catholic prelates of Ireland in 1560, were the first that received papal nominations to the titular episcopacy of our island ; especially as by a certain class of writers in the Roman

Church a number of these individuals have been elevated to the martyr's pedestal. We shall therefore endeavour to set down in the present article as full an enumeration as appears attainable, of the names, dates, and places, of the titular prelates who flourished in connection with Ireland, from the period above mentioned to the time of the great Rebellion, of 1641; referring such readers as desire more particular information relative to these persons and their histories, to those authors who have treated more directly of the topic.

The following are the bishops of the new Roman line whose names are given by Mr. Brennan (vol. 2, pp. 118-124,) as belonging to the latter part of the sixteenth century. In our abridged notice of those which are placed first in the list, we retain *all* the dates furnished by him in connection with them.

Mr. Brennan's account of some of them.

DERMOT O'HURLEY, titular archbishop of Cashel; studied and graduated at Louvain, and at length became professor of Canon law in the University there. During the pontificate of Gregory XIII. he repaired to Rome, and his talents and tastes attracting the notice of that pope, he "after some time was by him consecrated and promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel," which "for some years previously to his return from the continent" had been occupied by Miler Magrath. He was taken prisoner at Carrick-on-Suir, and brought up to Dublin, where he was examined for maintaining the

D. O'Hurley titr. abp. Cashel. Hanged for treason. A. D. 1583.

Falsehoods
invented to
embellish
his history;

pope's power in this realm, and if we were to believe a class of writers on Ireland already alluded to, his execution, which took place by strangling, in A.D. 1583, was preceded by several hours of barbarous torture. This most apocryphal narrative is retailed with all solemnity by Mr Brennan, but passed over with all its kindred, in expressive silence, by another historian of the Roman Church, and one of at least equal respectability to this our author; viz. Mr. T. Moore.

which the
Rev. Dr.
Elrington
sufficiently
refutes in
his case and
Creagh's.

But the reader will perhaps be glad to have the comment of a better authority than either on this painful subject. The Rev. Dr. Elrington, in his *Life of Abp. Ussher*, (Works, Vol. 1, p. 35,) has the following note on the penal sufferings of this individual and his fellow-labourer CREAGH of Armagh.

"The death of these two *martyrs* put forward by Stanihurst, and embellished by the author of the *Analecta*, has formed a fruitful source of declamation for Roman Catholic writers from that period to the time of Dr. Milner. That Br. HURLEY was guilty of treason, and was hanged for that crime, and not for his religion, can admit of no doubt. That he was tortured previous to his execution, in direct violation of the law, must require stronger evidence than the testimony of two witnesses who contradict each other as to the mode in which the torture was inflicted, in such a manner as would invalidate their testimony in any court of justice. The account of the poisoning bp. Creaghe, and of the mode of its discovery, was too ridiculous for Stanihurst to insert, and it seems extraordinary that any writer could venture to publish such a monstrous absurdity. I must refer the curious reader to the *Analecta*, as it would be impossible to give the detail here."

P. O'Hely,
titr. bp. of
Mayo ex-

PATRICK O'HELY, a Connaught man, titular bp. of Mayo, is said to have studied at the Convent of Complute in Spain, and to have become a Franciscan in that

place. Then proceeding to Rome in 1577, "in obedience to the command of the Minister General of his order, . . . he was consecrated in the following year bishop of the diocese of Mayo by Pope Gregory XIII." Soon after he returned to Ireland, and landed at Dingle in Kerry; but was ere long recognised, apprehended, and imprisoned at Limerick; where he remained until August, 1578; when, according to the writers above referred to, sentence was pronounced on him of torture and strangulation—a sentence carried in into effect, as they say, with horrid barbarity.

executed for
treason.
A.D. 1578.

The application of torture in such a case no friend of justice, humanity, or civilization, will attempt to justify or palliate—if indeed any can suppose it credible.—It is however but right to remind those readers who may be in any danger of being so far misled as to regard the above individuals as martyrs of the Catholic faith, that they came to this country as the professed subjects, and principal agents, of a foreign power then at open deadly war with their own sovereign:—and that the visit of Patrick O'Hely, for instance, to Rome, and the receipt of his Commission to the episcopate there, occurred at the very period when the rebel chieftain James Fitz Maurice was concerting his measures with the head of the Roman Church, for exciting the Irish to insurrection and civil war;—when the Romish ecclesiastics ALLEN and SANDERS were lending their active services to the furthering of his military expedition, in which they had embarked their hopes and their persons, and when the robbers of the Appennines were preparing to become the champions of "Catholicity" in Ireland, under the sanction and benediction of the same sovereign Pontiff GREGORY XIII.

A caution
against the
imposture
which
would me-
tamorphose
political in-
surgents
into religi-
ous mar-
tyrs;

Yes, when the claims of these men to martyrdom are pressed on the reader by their advocates, let it be always remembered that their principles and prepossessions had

to which is
appended
an Apologue

after the
manner of
D. Rothe.

The plan
for the ex-
orcising of
Italy.

led them to become the brethren and fellow-labourers of Italian highwaymen. What Christian will degrade the noble army of the martyrs to the necessity of being replenished by recruits from among the associates of murdering banditti:—of men possessed with devils, abiding in the mountains, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass in safety by their way. Until the pontiff, reflecting, perhaps, how the miracles of Moses the man of God, and of our Lord and His Apostles, had often been successfully reproduced, at least in the imitation of the presumptuous and the imagination of the credulous, by men of religious name, or at least by their biographers, contrived a plan for exorcising the fair hills of beautiful Italy, and securing peace for the lonely passes of her sunny mountains. But where could there be found, a good way off, an herd of many swine feeding, among whom an habitation might be appointed for those dread spirits of darkness? Alas for Ireland! Alas for the leaders and the led, of her hapless children! In her, it was agreed upon between Gregory and Fitz Maurice, that such beings might be employed in appropriate work, and with companions of congenial souls. And the order was accordingly given: and the fiends of Italy obeyed—and lost but little time in pursuing their gloomy course o'er the Mediterranean waters. The original intention was not however fully carried out; the leader had other work prepared for the ruin of those doomed Spirits on the African shore—and a portion only of the legion was permitted to arrive on the soil of Ireland, to diffuse the exhalations of its deadly venom among the children of the Gael. And them the whole herd of those who had imbibed that spirit, and allowed themselves to be led by the arts of the insurgent leader, were found rushing in a little time, down the precipice of the Geraldine commotions, to perish in the waters of that miserable and unhappy rebellion:—leaving above them, where they sunk to rise no more, no

monument to mark their fate, save the widening eddies of the silent barren tide of rancorous and unkindly passions, diversified with fitful ebullitions of more noisy and active character, like bubbles gurgling up from the depths of the abyss, in the form of plots, and assassinations, and occasional outbursts of inflamed fury, and associations of men animated by like spirit, and longing for the return of times when Gregories, Desmonds, and banditti, may struggle in arms to rule the destinies of Ireland once more.

RICHARD CREAUGH, concerning whom we have already given full information, is the individual placed next by Mr. Brennan in his list of martyrs.

Notice of R. Creaugh, titular of Armagh. A.D. 1585.

REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, papal bishop of Derry, has also been already noticed on a preceding page; he was, according to Rothe, in the 70th year of his age, when he was put to death by a band of soldiers; "after having been literally mangled," says Mr. Brennan.

R. O'Gallagher, Derry, 1601.

EDMUND MAGAURAN, titular primate, has been already noticed at p. 1236 sup. Mr. Brennan will have it that it was near Armagh he was killed, in 1598, while in the act of hearing the confession of a dying man.

E. Magauran, Armagh, 1594.

CORNELIUS O'DUANE, "bp. of Down and Connor," suffered, we are told, about the same time: he died, "after having been put on the rack," says the same author, during the administration of Arthur Chichester.*

C. O'Duane, Down, cir. 1598.

After notices of the above, Mr. Brennan pursues his account of the other prelates who belonged to the same company, in the following terms, (p. 123.)

"To these might be added a lengthened catalogue of

* See Rothe, in *Proc. Martyr. Catalogus*.

Summary
account of
certain
other titular
prelates of
the same
age.

prelates, who escaped the sword, but were still more grievously persecuted or driven into exile. Among these sufferers are named EDMUND TANNER, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne; THOMAS O'HERLIHY, Bishop of Ross; THADDEUS O'FERRALL, Bishop of Clonfert; and HUGH LACY, Bishop of Limerick. These Prelates lay concealed amidst the caverns of the mountains, and thus escaped the fury of their pursuers. MAURICE FITZGIBBON, the predecessor of DERMOT O'HURLEY in the see of Cashel, became an exile and died in Spain about the year 1580. NICHOLAS SKERRET Archbishop of Tuam, after having been flogged and incarcerated, withdrew to the kingdom of Portugal, and died at Lisbon in 1583. PETER POWER Bishop of Ferns, became a suffragan to the Archbishop of Compostella, and died an exile in Spain in 1587. THOMAS STRONG Bishop of Ossory, became also a suffragan to the same archbishop, and died at Compostella in 1601. MORIARTH O'BRIEN Bishop of Emly, died in the prison of Dublin in 1586. RICHARD BRADY of the order of St. Francis and Bishop of Kilmore, after having been incarcerated for a length of time, maimed and tortured, died at a very advanced age near Multifernam in the County of Westmeath." [Then are enumerated certain *priests* alleged to have suffered similar hardships.]

Notices of
F. Conroy
and D.
Rothe.

Pursuing our subject into the early part of the 17th century, the only titular prelates of Ireland belonging to this period who require to be specially noticed here, as men of eminence for their character and attainments, are FLORENCE CONRY, named Archbishop of Tuam, and DAVID ROTHE, called Bishop of Ossory, with the names of both of whom the reader of this

work must be supposed already in some little degree familiar.*

FLORENCE CONROY was born in Connaught about A.D. 1560, and retired at an early age into Spain, with a view to studying for holy orders. Here he became a member of the Franciscan convent in Madrid, where he is said to have gained by his disposition and abilities a high reputation. On the fitting out of the Spanish armada by PHILIP II. in 1588, CONROY embarked in that expedition with a view to returning into Ireland;† but if he secured an entrance into the island, he could not have remained long here, as he was again living in Spain in 1593. His appointment as titular of the see of Tuam appears to have taken place about A.D. 1610; and was not therefore an act of CLEMENT VIII. (pope from Feb. 7, 1592, to Mar. 5, 1605,) but more probably of Pope PAUL V. After having been the means of originating, with the aid of PHILIP III., the Irish Franciscan College of Louvain, (A.D. 1616,) and having been the author of sundry works of learning, devotion, and controversy, he died at the Franciscan College of Madrid, on the 18th of November, 1629.‡

F. Conroy's early history.

His connection with the Spanish Armada.

His appointment to the titular episcopate, &c.

His death, A.D. 1629.

D. Rothe born, A.D. 1573.

DAVID ROTHE, titular bishop of Ossory, and author of the famous *Analecta*, was born, according to Mr. Brennan, in Kilkenny, in 1573, and educated in the Irish secular College of Douay. He returned to Ireland about the close of Elizabeth's reign, and officiated for some time as a priest in the diocese of Ossory, with such ability and zeal as attracted the attention of his foreign su-

* Vid. pp. 910, 1349, 1354, &c., sup.

† Having been commanded by P. Clement VIII. to assist by his counsels the army which King Philip II. had sent into Ireland in aid of the insurgent Romanists there. Ware, *de Scrip.* 110, 111. Dub., 1745.

‡ Bren. *Ec. Hist.* ii. 243, 246.

His promotion.

As titular bp. of Ossory, he gets possession of the Cathedral of S. Canice in the Great Rebellion.

His death.

Three other titulars of this period noticed.

The martyrdom of Boetius Egan,

periors, and procured him the appointment to the office of Prothonotary Apostolic, and afterwards that of vicar general of the titular primate of all Ireland. The diocese of Ossory having been for seventeen years without a titular prelate, from the death of THOMAS STRONG in 1601, "it was determined in a consistory held under Paul V. in 1618, that provision should be made for the see, and accordingly at the instance of Cardinal Verallo, Protector [Cromwell?] of the Church of Ireland, David Rothe was nominated, and promoted soon after, to the see of Ossory. He presided over that diocese and had possession of the ancient Cathedral of St. Canice in Kilkenny during the memorable period of the Supreme Council."* Of his acts during the great Rebellion we have no room to speak here. He published besides the *Analecta* various other productions of less notoriety, and ended his days in 1650, aged 87 years.

Three other prelates, belonging to the close of the period now under consideration, are distinguished by Mr. Brennan as having earned the crown of martyrdom under the persecution of Cromwell's followers, viz., **TERENCE ALBERT O'BRIEN**, titular bishop of Emly, said to have been tried with bribes and threats, which could not however shake his constancy, and ultimately strangled on the eve of All Saints, A.D. 1651; **BOETIUS EGAN**, titular bishop of Ross, put to death about the same time, (of whom presently;) and **EMER MATHEW**, titular bishop of Clogher, who was taken prisoner by "Coote, one of Cromwell's most strenuous supporters," and condemned to death about the same time.†

To illustrate the veracious authenticity of the martyrdom stories with which writers of Mr. Brennan's class are in the habit of embellishing their works, take, gentle reader, an instructive lesson from the following

* ib. 258.

† ib. 190—192.

two ways of telling the story of BOETIUS MAC EGAN, after perusal of which you will be somewhat better able to account for much that might otherwise puzzle and shock you more seriously, in the "*Analecta Sacra, nova et mira*," (as they are truly called by their author,) and in other works of similar texture. The first account here given is Mr. Brennan's, the other that of an authority at least equally respectable, Mr. O'Brien, author of the well-known Irish Dictionary, (*in voce* €434ŋ.)

According to Mr. BRENNAN. *According to Mr. O'BRIEN.*

"About the same time Boetius Egan, Bishop of Ross, was tortured and put to death by the directions of Ludlow, who had been already engaged in storming that town. [Limerick.] This prelate, in the warmth of his charity, had ventured to make his way through the recesses of the neighbouring mountains, for the purpose of administering the sacraments to the dying. On his return to the lonely retreat in which he had for months lain concealed, he was overtaken by a troop of Ludlow's cavalry. The renunciation of his faith, he was told, would secure not only his pardon, but even the con-

"A gentleman of this family of the Mac Eagains, by name Baotlaç or Bo-
 €Tŋur Mac €34ŋ, [*i.e.* Billy (or Bully) Egan,] was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross Carbury, in the reign of King Charles I. of England, who having engaged himself with a party of the confederated Roman Catholics, as their spiritual director, in an expedition tending to relieve the town of Clonmel, and being taken prisoner of war by Lord Ormerly, was immediately, and without examination or trial, ordered to be hanged like a common malefactor; contrary to the laws of war, of nations, and of common humanity."

a story with
 two hand-
 dles.

fidence of their General : bribes and promises were employed, but these were unavailable. [*sic.*] He was accordingly given up to the fury of his executioners. His arms having been severed from his body, he was brought to a neighbouring tree, where, he closed his happy career, being suspended from one of its branches by the reins of his horse."—(*Ecc. Hist.* vol. 2, pp. 191, 192.)

[The reader will hardly require to be reminded of another specimen of the military daring of the reverend ecclesiastics of the house of M'EGAN of Desmond, furnished in a preceding article of this Appendix, No. LV. sup.]

A piece of new cloth, put unto an old garment,

So much for the more distinguished of the early titular prelates of Ireland. As for the rest of those who were the first occupants respectively of the like new dignities created in each see of this island by the Roman bishop, it will suffice to enumerate their names, taken as they are set forth in a singular document, (and one certainly of singular effrontery,) published not long since in the work entitled the "*Complete Catholic Directory*," and purporting to be a tabular view of the succession in each of the sees of Ireland; in which however the new titular succession is oddly stuck on, as it were, to the body of the old Irish episcopacy. The place of this attempted junction, or suture, in each see, is indicated in what follows by a line drawn across

only serves to expose a wide rent.

where it occurs. It is hardly necessary here to repeat again our reason for rejecting such a view of the Irish episcopal succession as wholly impertinent and absurd; suffice it to refer to the fact, that the prelates of the latter portion of this new series did not receive their orders or authority from those, or any of those, who are here named as their predecessors; but from foreign powers to whom neither God nor man had ever given any rightful title to the exercise of such jurisdiction in this isle.

●
—

TABULAR VIEW OF THE TITULAR EPISCOPACY OF IRELAND IN THE PERIOD
FROM THEIR FIRST ORIGIN TO A.D. 1650, CIR.

(From the "*Complete Catholic Directory*" for 1837, which quotes generally as its authorities, Ware's *Bishops*, Stuart's *Armagh*, &c.

N.B.—The dates here do not refer to the times of appointments.)

1.— <i>Armagh</i> .	85 George Cronmer (<i>sic</i>) .. 1522
(pp. 94, 95, <i>C. C. D.</i>)	George Dowdall* 1543
" 84 John Kile, resigned [<i>sic</i>] .. 1513	" This Prelate was appointed by the king, but the Pope would never confirm him in his See, and accordingly appointed :—

* "After Dowdall, [says the "*C. C. D.*"] on the death of Queen Mary, Adam Loftus began the Protestant line of bishops in this See, or as Erck says, thus :—

" Hugh Goodacre 1553	John Long 1584
Adam Loftus 1562	John Garvey 1589
Thomas Lancaster 1568	Henry Usher 1595

86 " Robert Wainchop, or Wachop, a Scotchman, who was never allowed possession, died 10th November, 1557	104 William Crolly, translated from Down and Connor to the Pri- matial See, April 1, 1833"
87 " Richard Creagh 1585	
88 Edward Magauran 1598	
89 Peter Lombard 1625	
90 Hugh M'Coghwell, O.S.F. .. 1626	
91 Patrick Fleming* 1631	
92 Hugh O'Reilly, translated from Derry 1650	
93 Edmond O'Reilly, died 1669	
94 Oliver Plunket, died a martyr, 1st of July 1681	
95 Dominick Maguire, O.P. died 1708	
96 Hugh M'Mahon 1737	
97 Bernard M'Mahon	
98 Ross M'Mahon†	
99 Michael O'Reilly‡ 1757	
100 Anthony Blake 1786	
101 Richd. O'Reilly, died 31st Jan. 1818	
102 Patk. Curtis, died 26th July, 1832	
103 Thomas Kelly, succeeded 26th July, 1832, and died on the 13th of January, 1835	
	2.— <i>Derry</i> . (p. 101 lb.)
	" James M'Mahon, Consecd. 1507 & 1517
	Redmond O'Gallagher 1604
	Dr. O'Reilly 1751" &c. &c. &c.
	[§ The note here in the " C. C. D." commences thus:— "The Protestant Bishops of Derry. " George Montgomery 1605

Christopher Hampton 1613	John Hoadley 1747
James Usher 1624	George Stone 1745
John Bramhall 1660	Richard Robinson 1792
James Margetson 1665	William Newcomen 1795
Michael Boyle 1678	William Stuart 1800
Narcissus Marsh 1702	His Grace Right Hon. and Most Rev. Lord John George de la Poer Beresford, D.D. 1822"
Thomas Lindsay 1713	
Hugh Bolton 1724	

* "Some place Patrick Fleming as successor to Dr. M'Coghwell; but Stuart, in his History of Armagh, p. 352, says he cannot discover any trace of his promotion to the primacy."

† "In most lists Ross M'Mahon is omitted."

‡ The "C. C. D." has *Bryan* at p. 95, but in the corrections marked in the Introduction, p. v. substitutes *Michael*. One or two other trifling emendations are supplied from the same source.

" Brutus Babington 1610"
and continues the list to the present
Lord Bishop of Derry, the Hon. and
Rt. Rev. Richard Ponsonby, 1831.]

3.—*Clogher.*

(p. 106.)

" Hugh or Odo O'Cervallan, elected
1542, constitut. pub. 1557

Eugene Matthews, translated to
Dublin 1611
Emerus Matthews, put to death for
the faith, 1653, or 1653
Ivæe M'Mahon 1650"

[The note in the "C. C. D." on this page,
gives the

" *Protestant Bishops of Clogher,*"
commencing with

" Miller Magrath, died 1570
George Montgomery 1606"
&c. &c. &c.]

4.—*Raphry.*

(p. 110.)

" Cornelius O'Cahan, sat in 1550

Donagh Magonagall, present at
the Council of Trent, died at
Calebeg 1589

O'Boyle succeeded, was murdered
at Donegal.

John O'Cullenan, bishop in 1650.

Murdered at Glencullomkill.

[*" Protestant Bishops.*

" George Montgomery 1605
Andrew Knox 1611"
&c. &c. &c.]

5.—*Binn and Connor.*

(p. 112.)

" Eugene Magenis 1559

Cornelius O'Duane, Martyr in .. 1611
Edmund Magennis 1627
Bonaventure Magennis 1645
Arthur Magenis 1650"

[*" Protestant Bishops.*

" John Merriman 1568
Hugh Allen 1573"
&c. &c. &c.]

6.—*Bilmar.*

(p. 117.)

" Edmund Nugent.. .. 1540
John Brady.

Richard Brady, B. in 1610

Hugh O'Reilly, died* 1627
 Eugene Sweeney 1680"

[" *Protestant Bishops.*

" John Garvey 1585
 Robert Draper 1603"
 &c. &c. &c.]

7.—*Armagh.*

(p. 122.)

" Eugene, Order of Preach. .. 1540
 Richard Ferrall, Abb. .. 1558

Patrick MacMahon 1577
 Oliver Darcy, Bishop in .. 1649"

[" *Protestant Bishops.*

" Lisack Ferrall 1577
 Robert Draper 1603"
 &c. &c. &c.]

8.—*Meath.*

(p. 127.)

" Edward Staple 1554
 William Walsh 1578

Thomas Dease 1649"

[" *Protestant Bishops.*

William Walsh 1554
 Hugh Brady 1563
 Thomas Jones 1584"
 &c. &c. &c.]

9.—*Brimm.*

(p. 123.)

Arthur Magenis 1560
 (Ware says he cannot find the names
 of the bishops after A. Magenis for
 100 years.)

Patricius was bishop in 1649

[" *Protestant Bishops.*

" John Todd 1606"
 &c. &c. &c.]

10.—*Dublin.*

(p. 138.)

" Livinus is said to have suffered
 martyrdom in Flanders .. 633
 St. Wiro 650
 Disibod, resigned 675
 Gualafer

* This appears to be a mistake. H. O'Reilly here mentioned seeming to be the same person who became titular primate of Ireland, in 1626. See Mr. Brennan's *Ec. Hist.* ii. 224, and pp. 1239, 1240, *sup.*

St. Rumold	775
Sedullus	785
Cormac	1074
Donatus	1084
Patrick	

[This list is then continued on to "John Comyn, 1212," after whose name commences the series of Bishops of Glendalough, beginning with S. Kevin, A.D. 612, and ending with "William Piro, 1214." Immediately after is annexed the list of "*Archbishops of Dublin (united to Glendalough.)*" This list commences with "Henry de Loundres, 1228." The latter portion of it, after "Hugh Inge, 1528," is as follows:—]

" John Allen	1534
George Browne, apostate.	
Hugh Curwen, do.	

" After Hugh Curwen had abandoned his faith in 1599, this diocese had no [R.] Catholic Bishop until the 5th of May, 1600, when a Spanish Franciscan, by name

" Matthew de Oviedo, was appointed 1600	
Eugene Matthews, formerly Bishop of Clogher	1611
Thomas Fleming, O.S.F.	1666
Peter Talbot	1680
Patrick Russell	1692
Peter Creagh, translated from Cork, 9th March, 1701	1693
Edmund Byrne	1723
Edward Murphy	1729
Luke Fagan	1733
John Linegar	1757
Richard Lincoln	1763
Patrick Fitzsimon	1769
John Carpenter	1786

John Thomas Troy, Ord. Præd. B. of Ossory in 1776	1823
Most Rev. Daniel Murray, consec. coad. 1809, succeeded Dr. Troy 1823"	

["*Protestant Archbishops.*

" George Brown	prom. 1535
Hugh Curwin	1555
Adam Loftus, trans.	1567"
&c. &c. &c.]	

11.—*Kildare.*

(p. 229.)

" Thady Reynolds	1541
Thomas Leverous	1564"

Roche MacGeoghegan	1640
Edward Wesley	1685"
[Who was made Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin united.]	

["*Protestant Bishops.*

" Thomas Lancaster,	cons. 1550
Thomas Leverous,	do. 1554
Alexander Craik,	do. 1560
Robert Daly	1564"
&c. &c. &c.]	

Trillick.

(1b.)

" Maurice Doran (murdered by his archdeacon, who was hanged for it)	1525
---	------

Matthew Sanders 1549
 Robert Travers, dep. 1554
 Thomas Field, or O'Fihel, (Franciscan) appointed in place of B. Travers in 1554 1567

Thomas Leverus died 1577
 Daniel or Donald Kavanagh .. 1587
 Richard Lalor, V. G. in .. 1606
 Roche Mac Geoghegan B. in .. 1640
 Edmund O'Dempsey B. in .. 1646"

[*"Protestant Bishops.*

"John Devereux cons. 1550
 Daniel Kavanagh, died 1567
 Richard Meredyth 1589
 Robert Grave, died 1600

Henceforward united to Ferns Diocese.

The see of Ferns vacant from 1577

till 1582
 Hugh Allen, cons. 1582
 Robert Grave, do. 1600
 Nicholas Stafford, do. 1600
 Thomas Ram, do. 1606"
 &c. &c. &c.]

12.—*OSHERY.*

(p. 235.)

"Miles Baron 1551
 John Thonory 1565

Thomas Stronge 1601
 David Roth 1655"

[*"Protestant Bishops*

"John Ball, cons. 1552

John Thonory, cons. 1553
 Christopher Gafney, do. 1567
 Nicholas Walshe, do. 1577,"
 &c. &c.]

13.—*FITHS.*

(p. 240.)

"John Purcel 1539
 Alexander Devereux 1566
 John Devereux 1578

Peter Power 1587
 Nicholas French 1678
 Luke Wadding 1687"

[The "*C. C. D.*" gives no protestant succession here. But see under Killdare and Leighlin, No. 11, sup.]

14.—*CASHEL.*

(p. 245.)

"Edmund Butler 1550
 Roland Baron 1561

See after this vacant 6 years—"

[*"See united to Cashel in 1569."*]

Emly.

(p. 245.)

"Aneas O'Heffernan 1517

Reymund de Burgh* 1562

O. AND R. UNITED.

(p. 246.)

James Mac Caghwell, died .. 1570
 Maurice Gibbon, or Fits Gibbon† 1578
 Dermot O'Hurly (martyr) .. 1583
 Thurlough O'Neill, (succeeded).. 1583
 David Kenny 1625
 Thomas Walsh sat in [1646 and] 1649

* "Erck and others place Reymund de Burgh in 1562, as a protestant, but there does not appear sufficient proof that he apostatized." [Vid. No. 25, sup., p. 1215.]

[10 other prelates are added, to "Most Rev. Michael Slaterry," Cond. 1834]

[*Protestant Archbishops*

"James Mac Caghwell, prom. .. 1567
 Miler Magrath, do. .. 1570
 Malcolm Hamilton, do. .. 1623"
 &c. &c. &c.]

15.—*Cork and Clonae.*

(p. 251.)*

"John Bennet, or Ferrett .. 1536

Dominic Tirrey, elected by

Henry VIII. 1556.

Lewis Mac Namara, ap. by the Pope 1540

John Hoyedon, do. .. 1542

Edmund Tanner, B. in 1580
 William Therry, 1620
 Robert Barry, V. A. of Ross .. 1646"

[The "*Protestant bps.*" in the foot note commence thus: "Roger Skiddy, 1557; Richard Dixon, 1570; Matthew Sheyn, 1572," &c. Cork and Cloyne were "united by Pope Martin, V. in 1430.""]

16.—*Billaur.*

(p. 258.)*

"James O'Corrin, (resig.) .. 1546

Cornelius Ryan, bishop in .. 1578
 John O'Molony 1648
 Thomas O'Molony 1680"

[*Protestant Bishops,*

"Maurice O'Brien 1570
 John Rider 1612"
 &c. &c. &c.]

† Connected with this prelate, we find in the Loftus MS. Annals in Marsh's Library, the following entry at

A.D. 1567. "This year complaint was made to the state at Dub., how Morris Reigh, an Irishman, having lately been at Rome, and there consecrated by y^e Pope's Bull archbp. of Cashell, arrived in Ireland, and made challenge to y^e same see, wch being denied unto him by y^e archbp., wch was there placed by his majtie. y^e ad. pretended Bp. suddenly with an Irish skayne wounded y^e bp. and put him in danger of his life." See Art. XXV. sup. p. 1215.

17.—*Kerry, or Ardferi.*

(p. 263.*)

" John Fitzgerald	1551
James Fitzmaurice, b. in ..	1556

Richard Connell	1649
Denis Moriarty, aged 108, d. ..	1787"

[First Protestant bp. according to this author, Nicholas Kenan, cons. 1688.]

18.—*Limerick.*

(p. 267.*)

" John Coyne, or Quinn, resig. ..	1551
Hugh Lacy	1580

Matthew Mac Grath	1623
Richard Arthur, bishop in ..	1646"

[The "Protestant" list commences thus: "William Casey, consecr. in 1581, deprived 1556, restored 1571; Hugh Lacy, consecrated 1657; John Thornburgh, cons. 1593," &c. &c.]

19.—*Waterford and Lismore.*

(p. 278.*)

Nicholas Comin, translated from Limerick, resigned	1551
--	------

Patrick Comerford, bp. in ..	1646"
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[First "Protestant bp., Marmaduke Middleton, 1579," second, "Miller Magrath, 1582."]
&c. &c. &c.

20.—*Ross.*

(p. 277.*)

" Bonaventura, B. in	1523
Dermot Mac Domnuell	1579
(at Council of Trent.)	
Ross annexed to Cork in 1586.	

[The bps. thence to 1748, when they were again separated, appear to be those of Cork and Cloyne united. Cloyne and Ross united in 1748.]

[The "Protestant bishops" are thus given:—

" William Lyons	1582
" Hence united to Cork.	

Of Cloyne.

George Synge	1628
Edward Synge	1678"
&c. &c. &c.]	

21.—*Down.*

(p. 282.*)

" Thomas O'Mullaly	1536
Christopher Bodkin, died ..	1572

Nicholas Skerritt	1583
James Healy	1594
Florence Conroy	1629

Mallachy Kiely 1645"

[and a dozen or so more, to "Most Rev. Dr. Mac Hale," consecrated in 1825. Succeeded to Killala 1834;—to Tuam Augt. 1834"]

[First "Protestant bp.," Wm. Laly, 1573.]

22.—*Clonfert.*

(p. 249.)

" Denis, Minorite, living in .. 1518
Richard Nangle, super. by Pope
Clement VII., who elec.
Roland de Burgo, in 1534

Thadeus O'Farrell, bp. in .. 1602
John Burke, trans. to Tuam .. 1646
Walter Lynch, in 1650"

[*" Protestant Bishops*

" Stephen Kerovan 1582
Roland Linch 1602"
 &c. &c. &c.]

23.—*Arghary.*

(p. 252.)

" Eugene, present at Council of Trent,
b. in 1585, died in 1603
Eugene O'Harte (considered by
some, same as above) died, aged
100 1603
Dominic O'Daly, con. 1736, died 1735"

[*" Protestant Bishops,*

" Eugene 1585

" This seems a mistake of Erck,
" Miller Magrath 1607
 "(Since united to Killala.)"

Claphin.

(p. 255.)

" John sat in 1535
Conatius O'Siagail provided by
Henry VIII.
Bernard O'Higgin provided by the
Pope 1552

Boetius Mac Egan b. in 1646
[" First protestant " John Lynch, 1584]

25.—*Rilferna.*

(p. 259.)

" John O'Hinalan 1552

Andrew Lynch, B. in 1649"

[First Protestant bishops, " Daniel" 1585,
Bernard Adams, 1606, &c.]

Rilmardnagh,

(p. 259.)

" Matthew sat 1523
Christphr. Bodkin (trans. to Tuam) 1536

Bilmaruagh and Bilsfennas.

Hugh Burke	..	..	1649
Myles Burke, died	..	..	1744

["*Protestant Bishops,*

" Stephen Kerwan	..	..	1573
Roland Lynch	..	..	1585

" For other bishops, see Killaloe."]

26.—Salway,

(p. 362.)

[The town originally belonged to the ancient bishopric of Enachdun; united in 1324 to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam. Romish Wardenship made into a bishopric, and George J. Browne appointed first bishop, August, 1831.
" From 1578 the Protestant Wardens were elected under the charter of

Edward VI., and the [R] Catholic Wardens under the Bull of P. Innocent VIII."]

27.—Killsale,

(p. 364.)

" Richard, B. in	..	..	1523
Eugene O'Connor, by Elizabeth.			
Miller Magrath, A.B. of Armagh,			
ap. by the Pope	..	..	1607
Francis Kirwan, B. in	..	..	1646"
&c.			

[The first Protestant bishops marked here, are,

" Archibald Hamilton	..	..	1630
John Maxwell	..	..	1630"
&c. &c. &c.]			

The preceding catalogues of no great character for accuracy or depth of learning.

The preceding lists are interesting, as exhibiting the most complete and elaborate effect which has appeared, as far as I am aware, in any Romanist publication, to set forth a succession of this kind, adapted to the objects of that Church. But however, these tables appear (independently of the general falsehood as to the succession of the Irish Church, which they are designed to uphold) very little worthy of consideration for any accuracy or extent of information contained in them. And they are in some cases absurdly erroneous, as for instance in pervert-

ing poor Walsh and Leverous* to the Reformed faith centuries after their deaths, and setting them down for "heretics" in lists of Protestant bishops, after all their self-sacrificing struggles for a place among "Catholic martyrs." On the other hand we may observe James Mac Cagwell, Queen Elizabeth's Protestant bishop of Cashel and Emly, 1563—1570, advanced to a place in the "Catholic" succession above given, and oddly enough engrafted into it, as the predecessor of Maurice Reagh Fitzgibbon, who was for murdering him, in contest for the see, on the pope's title and interest. Many other errors might be easily pointed out in the same catalogues, were there any occasion; but they do not seem of sufficient importance to require to be thus dwelt upon by us here any further. The lists for the several sees are continued in the "*C. Catholic Directory*" to the present time; but it did not appear necessary for our purpose to pursue them further than was sufficient to bring this account of the commencement of the new succession down to the period when it was pretty generally established in all the dioceses of Ireland.

* Vid. pp. 1370, '71, sup.

No. LXIX.

BRIEF OF POPE PAUL V. "TO THE FAITHFUL" IN IRELAND, CIRC.
A.D. 1614.

(From *De Burgo, Hib. Dom. p. 629. Vid. Art. LXI. sup.*)

Paul V.
writes a letter of condolence, &c., to his friends in Ireland, A.D. 1614.
(continued from Art. No. LXI. sup.)

"XXV. This invincible constancy on the part of the Irish gave occasion to the Roman Pontiff who then reigned, viz., Paul V. above noticed, to despatch to them an apostolic letter which was indeed a truly golden one, and worthy of being encased in cedar, of the following purport:—

'To our beloved children the clergy, nobility, and faithful people of the realm of Ireland, Paul V. pope.

'Beloved children, health and apostolical benediction.

'Great is the tribulation which has overwhelmed our heart, at hearing as we have done, that the hardships and afflictions to which you have been reduced, in your struggle to maintain the glory due unto the name of God and the interests of the Catholic religion, have increased in their severity, and that when you were in expectation of peace, there came upon you only greater tribulation; but yet we render thanks to the God of mercies, who consoles you in YOUR ADMIRABLE CONSTANCY, WHICH TO THE DISTINGUISHED HONOUR OF YOUR NAME, IS CELEBRATED BY ALL CHURCHMEN, [*sic.*] We have indeed received an exact account in the reports which have been furnished to us, of the recent persecution excited against you. We are aware that the adversaries of the Catholic faith are making every effort, omitting no sort of means to disengage you from your adherence to unity with this holy see. This is no new trial for the Church, who from her humiliation receives

fresh exaltation ; it is on the contrary a lot most common to Christ's faithful people ; for persecution opens a path for experience, and experience becomes a ground of merit. For the struggles engaged in by His valiant warriors are under the eye of Him who is ready to bestow an abundant recompense, whose promise has assured us that he will confess them before His father who confess Him before men : faithful is He who hath given this promise. Wherefore, children most entirely beloved, be steadfast ; and with unshaken resolution hold fast your faith immoveable, to secure for yourselves the honour of perseverance to the end, wherein lieth your salvation.

He encourages them to believe that their troubles were a token of their Christian character ; misapplying Holy Scripture as usual.

'For if it hath been given unto you, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for the maintenance of His true faith, you have also reason to believe that in torments and sufferings of the kind you receive your calling to the heavenly kingdom. This is the path which leads to heaven ; and a narrow one it is indeed, open to a few only, and these the tried and experienced. Ye know that that the Lord hath said, He that will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me. Christ's discipline seemeth to be not of joyous, but sorrowful character. You remember that it was said to the disciples, They shall persecute you, and beat you in the synagogues. For as it behoved Christ to suffer, and thus to enter into His glory, so also they that will strive to follow the steps of Christ unto the heavenly kingdom, have of necessity many sufferings to encounter ; for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord : and we have proofs of this in our daily experience, but especially in your present afflictions—for though absent in the body, we are yet with you in spirit, and bear our portion with you in your troubles, your calamities, and all your sorrows ; a portion undoubtedly more distressing and weighty in our case, inasmuch as

He says their grievances occasion him a

more bitter
anxiety and
heaviness
than them-
selves.

each one of you suffers his own sorrows only ;—while we are concerned for the whole body of you as for those who are our dearest children. The peril to which you are exposed is, that you may suffer loss of worldly wealth, or of this transitory life ; yet have you set before you an assured hope of attaining to a life of never ending blessedness in heaven. Our eye rests on the imminent danger which threatens a Treasure precious beyond all price, purchased at the inestimable cost of the blood of His only begotten Son, which the everlasting Father of our family hath committed in trust unto our care—even your souls, the loss of which can by no possibility be repaired. Wherefore as we suffer continual affliction, so we never cease to cry unto the Lord, that He may arise, and look upon your distress, and give you relief out of your tribulation. As we do likewise exhort you, in all the affection of our hearts, (we use the language of the apostle,) to look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and consider Him that endured such contradiction from sinners against himself, lest ye be weary and faint in your minds.

Some of the
customary
pious exhortations to
imitate the
martyrs, &c.
are next
added.

‘ YOU THE LORD HATH CHOSEN TO EXHIBIT ANEW IN THESE LAST AND CALAMITOUS TIMES AN EXAMPLE OF THE GLORY OF HIS CHURCH, REVIVING AS IN HER FIRST AGES, [*sic.*] Remember then what fearful sufferings the martyrs underwent, and what crowns the Lord afterwards bestowed upon them in the day of their Solemnity and rejoicing, and imitate their faith and constancy, their humility and patience. Giving no offence unto any man, using forbearance in love, praying continually for them that afflict you and persecute you. The meekness of Christ overcame the power of the devil : yes, He subdued the world not by the steel, but by wood, viz. in His most bitter passion, which redeemed mankind from the service of the devil. Put your trust in God, for He, when it shall

please His goodness, will cause your patience, your charity, to have at one time or another, the effect of softening the cruelty of those that rage so against you. Who knoweth whether they may by this means be converted from their evil way, and acknowledge God. How many do we read of, who having never heard preaching, but only witnessed the constancy of the martyrs, were led to embrace the faith of Christ, and forthwith to submit readily and willingly to torture and to death! The mercy of God is able, if you abide stedfast in your tribulation, to impute the amendment of others also to your earning.

'Be zealous then of good works; abounding in prayers; looking diligently lest ye offend in any wise against the majesty of God; doing nothing which may be at variance with the Catholic religion, and the integrity of that faith which your ancestors received from this Holy See. And ever keep in mind that it is a more horrible thing to fall into the hands of God, than into the hands of men. You, as we are informed, glory in the thought that your ancestors were men of such eminent piety towards God, that Ireland obtained, from this origin, the appellation of the ISLAND OF SAINTS. [*sic.*] Show yourselves then a people worthy of such a stock. And we, besides that we are ever mindful of you in our prayers, to inflame you the more to uphold the salutary discipline of Christ, having been informed that in the several cities and towns of that realm there are, in particular localities, congregations of the faithful of each sex, under the invocation of the ever most Blessed Virgin, &c.'

The Irish recusants exhorted to follow the pattern of their glorious ancestors, &c.

"Here ends the writer from whom I take those golden Burke's words, *i. e.* Donagh Roirk* in the work entitled *Ireland's* authority for

* "That David Roth, [titr.] bp. of Ossory, was the real author of that production, is affirmed by Usher of Armagh in his *Primordia*, pag. 737; and Harris, *Writers of Ireland*, p. 124.

the above document, and its date.

Resurrection, printed at Rouen, A.D. 1621. From the context however it is obvious enough that the Supreme Pontiff Paul V. aforesaid, in order to impress on the minds of the Irish a more agreeable and forcible motive towards the imitating of their ancestors, benignly included in this *Diploma Indulgentes*, of sufficiently liberal amount, for the said people, attainable at certain times and places therein specified. And although Donagh does not include the date of this letter apostolic, still none can doubt but that it was issued about the year 1614." (p. 630.)

No. LXX.

LETTER OF POPE URBAN VIII. CONSTITUTING THE "IRISH MISSION" A TITLE FOR HOLY ORDERS.

T. Fleming, titr. Abp. of Dublin (A.D. 1628,) obtains from P. Urban VIII. a letter establishing "*the Irish mission*" as a sufficient title for holy orders.

The "Apostolic Letter" subjoined is derived from the same source as that in the preceding Article, (*Hib. Dom.* p. 874, c. lxxxv.) As an illustration of the means employed at the commencement of the seventeenth century for getting up the new Romish establishment in Ireland, it seems not undeserving of a place in the present collection.

"The most reverend lord Fr. Thomas Fleming, of the Order of the Friars Minor . . . having been elected [for titular] archbishop of Dublin by pope Urban 8, previously to his consecration obtained from the said pontiff, the following letter apostolic, establishing the *Title of the Mission in Ireland* as a sufficient one for admission to holy orders, and granting other privileges, &c. :—

‘Urban, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the future memory of the matter herein set forth.

Urban, having a special respect for the wishes of archiepiscopal friends,

‘To the pious desires of any of Christ’s faithful people, and especially those of such as have been raised by their own merits to the government of metropolitan churches, and who are banished from their churches on account of the faith, or continue near them for the maintenance and propagation of the said faith, we ever give our willing assent, shewing them such countenance and favour as may be adapted for securing their desired ends.

‘Now it hath been lately represented to us in a petition set forth on the part of our beloved son Thomas [F., titr.] bp. elect of Dublin, that there have been already established by the help of God, in the French and Spanish realms, and in the provinces of Flanders, very many seminaries for the Irish nation, and that it is fully hoped that others will from day to day be added to the number, wherein young persons, having completed their studies, may be made priests, to return to their afflicted country, there to expend their talent in the vineyard of the Lord, and exert themselves to bring forward in that vineyard such a supply of fruit as their circumstances may permit:—and therefore, that they might be enabled to accomplish such their pious purpose with all possible expedition, an humble supplication was presented to us on the part of the said Thomas elect, desiring that we should, of our apostolic benignity, bestow on them such indulgence, and enact for them such favourable provisions, as are hereinafter detailed:—

readily accedes to the petition of T. Fleming in favour of certain Irish Colleges beyond sea:

‘Cherishing therefore as we do a cordial and sincere desire to see the propagation of the said Catholic faith carried on with energy in all places, and especially in parts ruled over by heretics, we feel well disposed to accede to the supplication so presented to us, and to bestow on the pupils of the said seminaries tokens of our special favour; to which end we do to the pupils of the

granting to the pupils of them peculiar privileges

same seminaries, and to every individual person of them, grant and ratify by virtue of these presents, absolution from all sentences, judgments, and penalties, of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, or other church censures, incurred actually or virtually, from whatsoever occasion or cause, supposing them to have been involved in any such, howsoever the case may have been :—so far as may be needful merely towards obtaining the benefit of the privileges herein conveyed.

and in particular all facility for admission to *Holy Orders*, on the title of the *MISSION IN IRELAND*.

‘ To the pupils therefore of these Colleges for the nation aforesaid, founded in the realms and provinces aforesaid, and in all other places wheresoever they may be, now and for the time being, we of our special favour grant permission, that on receipt of letters testimonial from the rectors of those seminaries in which they pursue their studies, commendatory of the life, probity, and morals of the said pupils, they may be promoted to the holy orders of subdeacon, deacon, and priest, by any Catholic bishops whom they may choose, possessing the favour and communion of the Apostolic See, and being in their own dioceses, or exercising episcopal functions in the dioceses of other bishops by their permission, either on a single day, or on any four holidays or not holidays—successive, or with others intervening—without any title of Church benefice or patrimony, but merely on the *TITLE OF THE MISSION IN IRELAND*, [*sic.*] even out of the periods canonically assigned for the purpose, and within a single year, or without waiting for a year’s completion, or observing the intervals appointed by the Council of Trent, provided however that the said scholars so to be promoted be fit for the post, and merely till the kingdom of Ireland shall have returned to the bosom of the holy Roman Church :—and the persons thus promoted shall by virtue of these presents, have lawful power and liberty to exercise the ministry of the altar also in that king-

The duration of such a privilege determined.

dom;—for all which contained in the premises, we give our proper license and faculty to the prelates and pupils therein concerned: notwithstanding that the said pupils, before being promoted from one order to another, may have had no opportunity of exercising themselves in the orders first received by them; notwithstanding also any other apostolical ordinances, constitutions, &c., to the contrary, whatsoever.

'To no man therefore living shall it be lawful to infringe, or by rash adventure to contravene, this page of our absolution, dispensation, and permission. And if any shall presume to attempt such infraction, let him know that he shall incur the anger of Almighty God, and of Blessed Peter and Paul His apostles. The ratification, date, &c.

'Given at St. Peter's Rome, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, one thousand six hundred and twenty three, the 11th of the Kal. of January, in the first year of our Pontificate.'"

No. LXXI.

BULL OF P. URBAN VIII. AGAINST THE OATH OF K. JAMES I.

(Foulis's "*History of Romish Treasons, &c.*" p. 583.)

"In King James his time there were several such papers: nor were they discontinued in king Charles I. his days. In the beginning of whose reign Pope Urban VIII., one said to have some affection to the English nation, sent over a bull of comfort to the Romanists; part of which relating to the Oath take as followeth:— Urban VIII. writes to encourage the English recusants. A.D. 1626.

'Urban VIII., Pope, to our beloved children the Catholics of England.

'Beloved children health and apostolical benediction.

The right-
eous often
afflicted,
and *v. v.*

‘Happiness on earth is not always a benefit of heaven, or an accompaniment of true piety; for the Church witnessing the peace enjoyed by sinners, has not unfrequently observed in her experience, that the power attained to by mortals is often a recompense of crime. Wherefore we prefer the chains of the martyrs to the spoils of triumphing heroes; and the Eternal King promises the principalities of heaven, not to those who trample with haughty foot on the rights of others, but to them that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, &c.

The Oath
of Alle-
giance to be
utterly re-
jected;

‘And if their violent measures are pressed so far as to compel you to the taking of that noxious and unlawful oath of Anglican allegiance, remember that your language is heard by the full assembly of angel witnesses. And let your tongue cleave to your jaws, before that you attempt to infringe the authority of B. Peter by an oath of that form. For the object of it is not merely to secure allegiance to the king, but to wrest from the Vicars of Almighty God the Sacred Sceptre of the Universal Church.

and the pa-
pal decrees
obeyed at all
hazards.

‘What was decreed after such grave deliberation by our predecessor Paul V., of happy memory, that you are fully bound to observe [beloved children,] as the decree of truth itself. Let no threats nor blandishments of men ever extort from you this tribute which you owe to the prince of the apostles: those who advise you otherwise are prophesying to you a lying vision and a divination of deceit: for sooner should the sword of the mighty deprive a Christian man of his life than of his faith. And if even an angel descending from heaven were to teach you doctrines contrary to apostolic truth, let him be accursed, &c. . . .

‘Given at St. Peter's Rome, under the Fisherman's ring, the 30th day of May, 1626, in the third year of our Pontificate.’”

The entire of the document, given here in an abridged form, may be seen (in Latin and English) in the Rev. Geo. Townsend's *Accusations of History against the Church of Rome.* (pp. 314, 445, of the Rev. J. E. Cox's Edn. London, 1845.)

The whole of this Epistle, where visible.

No. LXXII.

FATHER P. WALSH ON THE POPE'S DEPOSING POWER.

To the instances already adduced, at pp. 1324-'29 sup., of respectable and eminent writers of the Roman communion who have expressed sentiments condemning strongly the arrogance and injustice manifested in the papal claim to a power of deposing princes, we may add one more, in giving to the reader a few passages from the writings of the learned Franciscan, Father Peter Walsh, whose name has become so famous in connection with the history of the Irish Remonstrance. The extracts here subjoined are taken from the introductory letter "To the Catholics of England, Ireland, Scotland, &c.," which occupies pp. i.-xxxvi. of the remarkable and voluminous production entitled *The History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance so graciously received by his Matie. an. 1661 . . .*

Father P. Walsh's condemnation of the papal claim to a deposing power over princes.

with a true account and full discussion of the Delusory Irish Remonstrance, &c. framed and insisted on by the National Congregation at Dublin An. 1666, and presented to . . the duke of Ormond, but rejected by his Grace . . . The author Father Peter Walsh of the order of St. Francis, Professor of Divinity . . . 1674.

Origin of
the "Irish
Remonstrance."

[The Loyal Formulary, Walsh says, was first conceived about 35 years before the date of this Letter, i.e. A.D. 1673 (p. ii.) After much public and private debating, in 1661 and 1662, it was signed by 70 of the clergy, including a bishop, and 164 of the lay gentry, &c., including 21 peers, but was soon after traduced and impugned by sundry Ecclesiastics of the Roman Communion, who laboured by reproaches and calumnies to make it odious, and got it "censured and condemned in formal terms as *unlawful, detestable, sacrilegious*, yea in effect as schismatical and heretical, by the public censures of the Louvain Theological faculty," &c. &c. (*ib.*) Having thus gotten the face of authority on their side, they have not ceased ever since, he says, to proceed with the vilest acts of malicious cabals, conspiracies, plots and most lying slanders, to persecute the Remonstrants, with a manifest design to force them to renounce their allegiance to the king by retracting their subscriptions. Every where throughout Europe these persons were backed with the special authority of the court of Rome. "But no where so effectually as in the kingdom of Ireland, where his holiness made 13 prelates, viz. 4 archbishops and 9 bishops in a very short time" . . . of meer purpose for that very apostolical work. So dangerous a thing is it reputed at Rome for the subjects to give their natural prince any pledge of their faith which the pope cannot undo."]

Thirteen
Romish
Prelates
made, and
for what.
• 1669
1670
1671

"I must now tell you that if we please to examine things calmly with unprejudiced reading and unbiassed reason, we may find without any peradventure—

The penal laws aimed, not against the Romish religion at large, but against certain intolerable principles of some Romanists ;

"I. That the rigour of so many laws, the severity of so many edicts, and the cruel execution of both so many times against even harmless people of the Roman Communion, have not intentionally or designedly from the beginning aim'd, nor do at present aim so much at the renunciation of any avowed or uncontroverted Articles of that Christian or [R] Catholick Religion you profess, as at the suppression of those doctrines which many of yourselves condemn as anti-Catholick, and for the prevention of those practises which you all say you abhor as anti-Christian.

"II. That it is neither the number of Sacraments, nor the real presence in, or Transubstantiation of, the consecrated host, nor the communion thereof in one kind only, nor . . . confession, nor . . . extreme unction, nor the . . . controversies . . . about faith, justification, good-works or those termed supererogatorie, or about the invocation of Saints, Veneration of reliques, worshipping of images, purgatory and pardons, &c. . . nor is it either a patriarchal power in the bishop of Rome over the Western Church . . . or (which is yet somewhat more,) an universal pastorship purely spiritual acknowledged in him . . . I say it is not any of all these articles or practices, nor all together (not even joined with some others, whether of lesser or greater note) that is the grand rock of scandal, or that hath been, these last 100 years the cause of so many penalties, mulcts, incapacities, of shameful deaths inflicted and more ignominious characters given us.

not against transubstantiation, justification by works, &c. &c.

"III. That of our side the original source of all those evils, and perpetual spring of all other misfortunes and miseries whatsoever of the Rom. Catholicks in England, Ireland, Scotland at any time since the first change under Henry VIII. hath been a system of doctrines and prac-

but against certain doctrines and practices altogether at variance

with any
sort of Chris-
tianity:

tises, not only quite other than yourselves do believe to have been either revealed in Holy Scripture or delivered by Catholic tradition, or evidenced by natural reason, or so much as defined by the Tridentine fathers, but also quite contrary to those doctrines and practices which are manifestly recommended in the letter, sense, and whole design of the gospel of Christ, in the writings of the blessed apostles, in the commentaries of their holy successors, in the belief and life of the Christian Church universally, for the first ten ages thereof, and moreover in the very clearest dictates of nature itself, whether Christianity be supposed or not.

some parti-
cular ones
of which are
specified ;—
as,

That the
Bp. of
Rome is
universal
monarch—

“IV. That of those quite other and quite contrary doctrines in the most general terms, without descending to particular applications of them to any one kingdom or people, &c. the grand positions are as followeth, viz :—

“1. That by divine right and immediate institution of Christ, the bishop of Rome is Universal Monarch and governour of the World even with sovereign, independent, both spiritual and temporal authority over all Churches, Nations, Empires, Kingdoms, States, Principalities ; and over all persons, Emperours, Kings, princes, prelates, Governors, priests and people, both orthodox and heterodox, Christian and Infidel, and in all things and causes whatsoever, as well temporal and civil, as Ecclesiastical or Spiritual.

the foun-
tain of all
authority ;

“3. That he is the fountain of all jurisdiction of either kind on earth, and that whoever derives not from him, hath none at all, not even any the least civil or temporal jurisdiction.

with power
to dethrone
kings, em-
perors, &c.,

“6. That he is empowered with lawful authority, not only to excommunicate but to deprive, depose, and dethrone . . . all princes kings and emperours ; to translate their royal rights to others, &c. &c. . . .

7, &c. [That he may with full authority absolve from all oaths of allegiance, command under penalty of excommunication, &c. to bear arms against princes so deposed, &c., dispense even against the Old Testamt. or the apostles, evangelists, &c. That whoever kills a prince so deposed kills only a usurper, &c.]

"11 That whosoever out of pure zeal to the Roman Church ventures himself, and dyes in a war against such a tyrant (*i e.* against such a deposed or excommunicated prince) dyes a true martyr of Christ, and his soul flies to heaven immediately."

[That heresy *ipso facto* deprives of a crown, &c. *ipso facto* absolves all oaths of subjects, that he is a heretic who even doubts one Tridentine definition, or one article of Pius's Creed; that inferior bps. acknowledging his holiness may do likewise in deposing kings, &c. That all ecclesiastics whatsoever, men or women, from the patriarch to the very porter or portress of a cloister, nay the very scullion of their kitchen, and all their churches, lands, goods, &c. &c., and much more their persons, are exempt by all laws, the law of God, &c. from all secular, civil and temporal authority on earth, that therefore in no case even murdering a king, could a churchman be called justly a traitor, nor punished without special permission from the pope. That nevertheless all ecclesiastics from the highest to the lowest may be summoned to Rome, all laws and orders of men, &c., notwithstanding, &c. &c. That he alone may suspend, alter, rescind, &c. all laws, imperial or other, all canons of faith of the most certain councils,—can alone bestow all benefices from patriarchal to parochial, translate bps. erect, divide, unite, bps. &c. That in fine "he hath owing to him from all mortals such a perfect, nay such a blind obedience, that if he define virtue to be vice and vice to be virtue, they ought to believe him: and if they do not they cannot be saved unless peradventure invincible ignorance excuse

and to absolve from all Oaths of Allegiance, &c.

That men dying in support of such claims are martyrs of Christ.

That all ecclesiastical persons are independent of all secular authority, &c. &c. &c.

That "the pope" may define virtue to be vice, and v.v., and

that he is
in fine a
god.

them. And lastly to sum up all in a word he is *Dominus Deus noster papa*, our Lord God the pope, as the Glossator, (b) of his own canon law stiles him."

(b) Zenzelinus de Cassanis, in *fine Glossæ extravag. cum inter, de verb. sig.*]

All these
tenets cher-
ished by au-
thorities of
the highest
class in the
Church of
Rome.

"V. That notwithstanding the incredibility of these and some other such vain positions yet they all and especially the monarchical or despotical or rather indeed tyrannical . . . powers ascribed in them to the pope, are every one (with no lower pretence than of divine right and immediate institution of Christ) maintained either in formal or in virtual terms, (nay in formal the chiefest of them and such as infer the rest) not only by too many of our most famous and most classical authors of all sorts, canonists, historians, and divines, since the schools began, but also by the far greater authority of the Roman bishops themselves since pope Hildebrand's time. And 3 only but wretchedly abused texts of the gospel, viz. Luc. 22, 38, Mat. 16, 19, and Joan. 21, 27, must serve the turn, however against the plain design of the whole gospel itself to drive directly by such positions at the proper scope of the Alcoran, and establish in the Church of Christ a worser tyranny than that of Mahometans and Mamelukes."

Penal acts
must there-
fore have
aimed at
such princi-
ples, rather
than at in-
noxious
rites.

[It is incredible, he says, to believe that so many judicious princes, parliaments and convocations, would enact so many grievous punishments, yea of death itself in some cases against mere religious tenets, or rites for so many ages held without disturbance to the public, having before their eyes at the same time those positions and practices which they must see to be of the greatest Danger, Insolence, Pride, Injustice, Usurpation, Tyranny and Cruelty imaginable.]

The opposi-
tion to the

"XII. We have no cause to wonder at the protestants jealousy of us when they see all the three several

Tests, hitherto made use of for trying the judgment or affection of Roman Catholicks in these kingdoms in relation to the papal pretences of one side, and the royall rights of the other, I mean the Oath of Supremacy first, the Oath of Allegiance next, and last of all that which I call the Loyal Formulary, or the Irish Remonstrance of the year 1661, even all three one after another to have been with so much rashness and wilfulness, and so much vehemency and obstinacy declined, opposed, traduced, and rejected amongst them: albeit no other authority or power not even by the Oath of Supremacy itself [*marg.* Art. 37 of Ch. of Engd. and admn. after the injunctions of Q. Eliz.] be attributed to the king, save only civil or that of the sword, nor any spiritual nor ecclesiastical power be denied therein to the Pope, save only that which the general council of Ephesus under Theodosius the younger, in the case of the Cyprian bishops, and the next Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon, under the good Emperor Martianus, in the case of Anatolius Patriarch of Constantinople, and the 217 bps. of Africa (whereof St. Augustine was one) both in their canons and letters too denied unto the Roman bps. of their time: and albeit the Oath of Allegiance was of mere purpose framed only to distinguish 'twixt the loyal and disloyal Catholicks, or the honest and loyal party of them from those of the powder treason principles; and albeit the Remonstrance of 1661 was framed only at first by some well meaning discreet and learned Roman Catholicks of the English nation, and was now lately signed by so many and such persons of the Irish nation as we have seen before; and was so far from entrenching on the Catholic faith, or canons, or truth, or justice in any point, that saving all these it might have been much more home than it is (though indeed as from well meaning honest men it be home enough) nay and albeit neither of these two later tests, (the Oath of Allegiance or the Irish Remonstrance)

Oath of Allegiance, &c. a sufficient occasion for jealousy on the part of Protestants.

promiseth to the king any other than meer civil obedience, and this obedience too in meer civil or temporal affairs only, according to the Laws of the Land, nor denies any canonical obedience to the Pope in either Spiritual or Ecclesiastical matters merely such, nor indeed in any matter at all wherein the Canons of the Catholic Church impower his holiness, and wherein his key does not manifestly err." (pp. 7-16 of letter to "the Catholics, &c.")

No. LXXIII.

COPY OF THE LOYAL IRISH REMONSTRANCE.

(Referred to in the last Art., &c., in its original form, taken from Father Walsh's History, p. 7.)

The Remonstrants complain to his Majesty that they are slanderously charged with plotting the destruction of the English.

"To the king's most Excellent Majesty.

"The humble Remonstrance, Acknowledgment, Protestation, and petition of the Roman Catholick clergy of Ireland.

"Your Majesty's faithful subjects the Roman Catholick clergy of your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland do most humbly represent this their present state and deplorable condition.

"That being intrusted by the indispensable commission of the King of kings with the cure of souls and the care of their flocks, in order to the administration of sacraments and teaching the people that perfect obedience which for conscience sake they are bound to pay to your Majesty's commands, they are loaden with calumnies, and persecuted with severity.

"That being obliged, by the allegiance they owe and ought to swear unto your Majesty, to reveal all conspiracies and practices against your person and royal au-

thority that come to their knowledge, they are themselves clamoured against as conspirators plotting the destruction of the English among them, without any ground that may give the least colour to so foul a crime to pass for probable in the judgment of any indifferent person.

"That their crimes are as numerous and as divers as are the inventions of their adversaries; and because they cannot with freedom appear to justify their innocence, all the fictions and allegations against them are received as undoubted verities; and which is yet more mischievous, the laity, upon whose consciences the character of priesthood gives them an influence, suffer under all the crimes thus falsely imputed to them; it being their adversaries' principal design, that the Irish, whose estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit and no way worthy any title to your majesty's mercy.

and that such charges are too readily received against them.

"That no wood comes amiss to make arrows for their destruction; for as if the Roman Catholic clergy, whom they esteem most criminal, were or ought to be a society so perfect, as no evil or no indiscreet person should be found amongst them, they are all of them generally cried down for any crime, whether true or feigned, which is imputed to one of them; and as if no words could be spoken, no letter written but with the common consent of all of them, the whole clergy must suffer for that which is laid to the charge of any particular person among them.

That all their priests are commonly made responsible for matters alleged against particular individuals of them;

"We know what odium all the Catholic clergy lie under by reason of the calumnies with which our tenets in religion and our dependence upon the pope's authority are aspersed; and we humbly beg your Majesty's pardon, to vindicate both by the ensuing protestation, which we make in the sight of heaven and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without equivocation or mental reservation.

especially in connection with papal supremacy.

"We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be

Their full
Protestation
of Alle-
giance;

and that
notwith-
standing all
Romish de-
crees and
sentences of
a contrary
tendency.

Their loy-
alty they
promise to
retain in all
cases at the
risk of life
itself;

acknowledg-
ing all su-
preme go-

our true and lawful king, supreme Lord, and rightful Sovereign of this realm of Ireland, and of all other your Majesty's dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under pain of sin to obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's subjects, and as the laws and rules of government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that, notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope, or see of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever given or to be given by the Pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority spiritual or temporal proceeding or derived from him or his see against your Majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our abilities our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or license to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your Majesty's person, royal authority, or to the State or Government. Being all of us ready not only to discover and make known to your Majesty, and to your ministers all the treasons made against your Majesty or them, which shall come to our hearing; but also to lose our lives in defence of your Majesty's person and royal authority; and to resist with our best endeavours all conspiracies and attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence or patronised by what foreign power or authority soever. And further, we profess, that all absolute princes and supreme governors, of what religion soever they be, are God's lieutenants on earth, and that obedience is due to them according to the laws of each commonwealth respectively in all civil and temporal affairs. And there-

fore we do here protest against all doctrine and authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious and against the word of God to maintain that any private subject may kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince, though of a different belief and religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

vernors to
to be God's
vicegerents
on earth.

"These being the tenets of our religion, in point of loyalty and submission to your Majesty's commands and our dependence of the see of Rome no way intrenching upon that perfect obedience which by our birth and by all laws divine and human, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign; we humbly beg, prostrate at your Majesty's feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from the severe persecution we suffer merely for our profession in religion; leaving those that are or hereafter shall be guilty of other crimes, (and there have been such in all times, as well by pen as by their actions,) to the punishment prescribed by the law."

Finally,
they pray
for protec-
tion from
persecution.

Of the above document, and of that which was attempted to be substituted for it, it may be proper here to subjoin the following brief account, abridged from that supplied by one of the latest Roman Catholic writers on the Church History of Ireland, (vid. Brennan's *Ec. Hist.*, pp. 201-212.)

At the beginning of the reign of Charles II. the sufferings of the Roman Catholics were, according to this author, "aggravated by a renewal of all the old calumnies so frequently advanced but as often refuted.

Mr. Brennan's account of the circumstances connected with the origin of the Remonstrance.

"Their religious principles were incompatible with the safety of the crown; their engagements were not to be depended upon; they entered into treaties the most solemn, but they broke them at pleasure; they were Nuncioists, Renuccinis, dissemblers, and traitors. To vindicate themselves and their religion from those foul and malicious imputations, the [papal] clergy and the [R.] Catholic gentry of Ireland were warmly advised by many of their friends, both in this country and in England, to prepare a satisfactory but respectful remonstrance, and cause it to be presented to his Majesty with as much expedition as possible. This friendly suggestion, although approved of by all, could not, from the peculiar circumstances of the times, be carried into effect until about the close of the year 1661. At that time three [R.] Catholic gentlemen residing in Dublin, Sir Richard Barnwall, Richard Belling, and Thomas Tyrrel, together with Oliver Dease, Vicar general of Meath, and Father James Fitzsimons, Guardian of the Franciscans at Dublin, found an opportunity of consulting together, and the remonstrance already alluded to was agreed upon. . . . That portion of it which referred to the temporal authority of the Pope was no more than a literal transcript of the printed declaration of the [R.] Catholics of England, drawn up by Father Cressy, an English Benedictine, and presented to Charles I. at Westminster, about the year 1640.—(*Ec. Hist.* pp. 201, 202.)

Its transmission to London,

[The remonstrance when duly prepared, was immediately transmitted to England, and "committed to the management of Father Peter Walsh, at that time residing in London as the procurator or accredited agent of the [Roman] Catholics of Ireland," an office to which he had been "appointed (in 1660) by the [titular] primate Edmund O'Reilly, and others."—(p. 204, *ib.*)]

and reception there;

"The remonstrance being thus placed in the hands of

the agent was soon after presented by him to some of the leading members of the Cabinet; but being an anonymous unauthenticated document, it was immediately returned with a recommendation to have it signed as speedily as possible by the [R.] Catholic prelates, nobility, and clergy, of the whole kingdom. Out of thirty expatriated Irish priests then residing in London, twenty-four readily affixed their signatures to it, together with Oliver Darcy [titular] bishop of Dromore; the remaining six refused their assent, alleging that the language employed in the memorial was not sufficiently respectful to the Holy See. In Ireland the Remonstrance met with a most unfavourable reception: as soon as it had appeared one general outcry was raised against it in almost every diocese of the kingdom; the doctrine which it contained was considered dangerous, false, and already censured by the Church; it was rejected by some with as much abhorrence as the oath of supremacy, and condemned by all for the intemperate and disrespectful terms which pervaded its entire composition."—(p. 205.)

[But whatever difficulties may have been raised against the document on the part of the papal clergy in Ireland, the R. Catholic nobility and gentry of the country appeared, as Mr. Brennan observes, "to have been placed altogether beyond the influence of such scruples;" so that early in the year 1662, a considerable number of them were found willing to give it the sanction of their names. Among the clergy however the remonstrants made in the course of the next succeeding years so little progress, that of the number of priests in Ireland in 1665, estimated at 2000, (1200 secular, and 800 regular,) sixty nine only had signed the remonstrance.—(pp. 205, 8, and Walsh's *Hist. Rem.* pp. 96, &c.)]

where it is
favoured by
the laity,
but rejected
by the Ro-
mish clergy.

But three
Romish bi-
shops in
Ireland at
this time.

"There were but three [R.] Catholic bishops at the same period in the whole kingdom; the aged and venerable John Burke, [titr.] Archbp. of Tuam, who having been sixteen years an exile had just then returned from the continent, intending (as he himself expresses it) to have his ashes laid in the tomb of his fathers; Patrick Plunket, [titr.] bp. of Ardagh, who arrived in the same year, and the infirm, suffering, saintly Bishop of Kilmore, Owen Mac Sweeney. The remaining dioceses of Ireland were governed [i. e. *usurpative*] by Vicars general and capitular; men unexceptionably opposed to the diction of the same formula."—(*Hist. Rem.*, P. ii., Tr. i., p. 575.)

Brief ac-
count of the
Synod of
the new es-
tablishment
in Ireland,
A.D. 1666.

[At length a national synod of the Roman clergy in Ireland having been appointed to assemble on the 11th of June, 1666, for the discussion of the merits and principles of the Remonstrants, met accordingly at the residence of the Roman ecclesiastic who bore the style of "Parish priest of St. Audoen's, Dublin," and "continued its sittings for fifteen days successively, Andrew Lynch ([titular] Bp. of Kilfenora, who had but a few months before returned from exile) being with one voice appointed chairman." On the evening of the third day the titular primate, Edmund O'Reilly, landed in Dublin after four years' absence, to oppose the Remonstrance by his own authority, and the sanction of letters brought with him from foreign ecclesiastics.—(*Bren.* ii. 209.)]

The original
Remon-
strance is
finally re-
jected.

"On the sixth day the synod came to an unanimous determination of formally rejecting the original remonstrance of 1661; a committee was appointed, and a new protestation of allegiance was drawn up, which embodied all the principles of fidelity contained in the former Remonstrance, omitting at the same time those expressions which had been generally considered either ambiguous or

disrespectful." [The objectionable passages which had been omitted, were fully supplied *according to Mr. Brennan*, by the adoption, on the part of the synod, of three of six scholastic propositions on the deposing power, which had already been sanctioned by the faculty of the Sorbonne. The new remonstrance, with these additional propositions, will be found in the Article which next follows in this Appendix.]—(Bren. *Ec. Hist.*, p. 211.)

NO. LXXIV.

REMONSTRANCE OR DECLARATION OF LOYALTY AGREED TO IN THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC SYNOD HOLDEN AT DUBLIN IN 1666.

"To the king's most excellent Majesty. We your Majesty's subjects, the Roman Catholic clergy of the kingdom of Ireland together assembled, do hereby declare and solemnly protest before God and his holy angels, that we own and acknowledge your Majesty to be our true and lawful king, supreme Lord, and undoubted Sovereign, as well of this realm of Ireland as of all other your Majesty's dominions; consequently we confess ourselves bound in conscience to be obedient to your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as any subject ought to be to his prince, and as the laws of God and nature require at our hands. Therefore we promise, that will inviolably bear true allegiance to your Majesty, your lawful heirs and successors; and that no power on earth shall be able to withdraw us from our duty herein; and that we will, even to the loss of our blood if occasion requires, assert your Majesty's rights against any that shall invade the same, or attempt to

The members of this synod profess unchangeable allegiance to the king;

repudiating
the doctrine
that the
duty of true
obedience
may be dis-
penssed with,
or that pri-
vate sub-
jects may
lawfully
murder a
rightful
prince.

deprive yourself or your lawful heirs and successors of any part thereof. And to the end this our sincere protestation may more clearly appear, we further declare that it is not our doctrine that subjects may be discharged, absolved, or freed, from the obligation of performing their duty of true obedience and allegiance to their prince; much less may we allow of or pass as tolerable any doctrine that perniciously and against the word of God maintains, that any private subject may lawfully kill or murder the anointed of God, his prince. —Wherefore pursuant to the deep apprehension we have of the abomination and sad consequences of its practice, we do engage ourselves to discover unto your Majesty or some of your ministers any attempt of that kind, rebellion or conspiracy against your Majesty's person, crown or royal authority, that comes to our knowledge, whereby such horrid evils may be prevented. Finally as we hold the premises to be agreeable to good conscience, so we religiously swear the due observance thereof to our utmost, and we will preach and teach the same to our respective flocks. In witness whereof we do hereunto subscribe, this 15th day of June, 1666."

This new
Remon-
strance,
with

"As soon as this new protestation of loyalty had received the signatures of the entire body,* it was intrusted to the care of the [titr.] bishops of Kilfenora and Ardagh, together with the following resolutions or transcript copy of the Sorbonne declarations already admitted and sanctioned:—

* The assembly consisted of ten ecclesiastics as representatives from each province, together with the provincials of the different orders, to whom a privilege was granted of bringing each two divines or canonists.—Bren. p. 209.

"I. We the undersigned do hereby declare, that it is not our doctrine, that the Pope hath any authority in temporal affairs over our Sovereign Lord king Charles II. ; yea, we promise that we will still oppose those who shall assume any power, either direct or indirect, over him in civil or temporal affairs.

the three
Sorbonne
Declarations
annexed,

"II. That it is our doctrine, that our gracious king Charles II. is so independent, that he doth not acknowledge nor hath he in civil and temporal affairs any power above him under God ; and this to be our constant doctrine, from which we shall never recede.

"III. That it is our doctrine, that we subjects owe so natural and just obedience unto our king, that no power under any pretext whatever, can either dispense with or free us from the same.

"The prelates in whose hands these resolutions and the approved Remonstrance had been placed lost no time in executing their commission ; that same day they waited on Ormond at the Castle, presented both these documents, but were received unceremoniously, and dismissed with a cool indifferent assurance 'that after he had read and considered on their papers, they should hear further from him.'

is presented
to Ormond
at the Castle,

"On the following Monday, being the 25th of June, and the 15th day of their meeting, Peter Walsh, by directions from Ormond, commands the chairman to dissolve the synod and retire from Dublin ; observing at the same time, 'that neither their remonstrance or resolutions had offered the least satisfaction to his Excellency.'"—(Bren. ii. 212.)

but rejected
as altogether
unsatisfac-
tory.

Mr. Brennan's own sentiments on the deposing power are thus expressed by himself in connection with the Oath of K. James :—

Mr. Brennan's view
of the deposing
power

contended
for by the
Popes and
their abet-
tors.

“The substance of this oath regarded principally the well known, and at that time almost universally received doctrine among schoolmen, by which the Pope’s direct or indirect power over temporalities was maintained together with the right of deposing princes who should happen to come under the public censures of the Church. Every [R.] Catholic is aware that this doctrine forms no article of his faith; it was as has been already stated, a mere question in the schools: at this day it is exploded.”—(*Ec. Hist.* ii., p. 166.)

How far the Church of Rome or her doctors of this day are willing or consenting parties to the explosion, we need not here inquire.

No. LXXV.

NOTE ON THE EXPRESSION, “CHURCH OF ENGLAND,” AS APPLIED TO THE *Church in Ireland*.

Of the proper and legal designation for the Church in Ireland.

Not wishing to be misunderstood on what appears to be a subject of considerable importance, viz. that introduced at pp. 919, seqq. of this work, I have thought it well to append here a few further observations in illustration of the topic.

The 5th Article of the *Act of Union* between Great Britain and Ireland is to the following effect:—

"That the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, and be called the United Church of England and Ireland, and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said united Church shall be and remain in full force for ever."

To employ in colloquial usage the complete legal title as here given, styling ourselves continually, members of the "United Church of England and Ireland," would of course be inconvenient, and in fact out of the question. "The Church of England" is a very proper and good abbreviation for English people to use in speaking of themselves, and *pari ratione* the "Church of Ireland" is an equally proper abbreviation for us in Ireland. It may even be proper enough for churchmen of all races in the *Colonies of England* to speak of themselves as belonging to the Church of England. But as no man in Bristol or Yorkshire, even though his ancestors had come from our side of the water, would think of speaking of himself as a member of the Church of Ireland, so there appears no sufficient ground of necessity, occasion, or advantage, to recommend to persons who are natives of Ireland, (and of Irish ancestry much farther back, in ordinary cases, than they can trace their family history,) that they should commonly style themselves of the Church of England.

This legal title, how to be modified in colloquial use.

The Church in Ireland not to be regarded as on any different footing, (as to privileges, &c.) from that in England.

In connection with this subject, (although bearing in a somewhat different direction,) there are some observations of Mr. Stephens, in his learned Edition of the *Irish Book of Common Prayer*, which are worth citing here. In a note on the provisions of the Article of the Act of Union above quoted he remarks as follows :*—

“Notwithstanding the express language of this Statute, such a mass of ignorance and prejudice prevails on the subject, that it has been urged by English Churchmen, belonging to that class who have hitherto enjoyed, and who, it can scarcely be doubted, still hope to enjoy, the monopoly of high preferments in England, and a large share of those in Ireland, that the Church in the one country stands upon a different footing from that in the other. In the eye of the law they are identical [being, as it were, one family; which does not however make John become Richard, nor Richard John, in the same, nor yet oblige them to wear exactly the same cut of clothing; although entitling them to equally good food, raiment, and other advantages belonging to their position in life.] Thus Bishop Jebb in the House of Lords, 1824, (2 *Pract. Theol.* 434-437,) justly observed;—

Remarks of Bp. Jebb on the expressions, “Church of England,” and, “Church of Ireland.”

‘We have lately heard frequent mention made of the Church of Ireland, and the Church of England. I have myself heard it mentioned in various companies, and I have read the doctrine in several publications, that the Church of England stands on a different footing from the Church of Ireland; and the one Church ought to be treated differently from the other. Now against this doctrine, and against any conclusion deducible from it,

* See the *Irish Eccl. Journal* for Sept. 1849, (No. 110,) p. 327.

I must solemnly protest. I know not, the law knows not, of any Church of England; I know not, the law knows not, of any Church of Ireland. I know, and the law knows, but of ONE reformed Episcopal Church within this realm—the *United Church of England and Ireland*. The English portion and the Irish portion, at the period of the Union, were bound together indissolubly and for ever. They are one in doctrine, one in discipline, one in government, one in Worship. Each portion therefore must be treated as the other. I do not indeed say that there may not be circumstantial, modal differences, precisely as there are varieties of arrangement within the English branch itself; as for example the manner of raising and collecting the church revenue in London, may differ from the manner of raising and collecting the Church revenue in York . . . But against any substantial, any essential, any vital difference of treatment, I most solemnly protest; and I do not hesitate to declare such a difference morally and constitutionally impossible. I would exhort those who love and venerate our Constitution, both in Church and State, to consider what we have at stake, the integrity of our United Kingdom, and the Protestant faith of this Protestant empire. If one portion of the Church suffer, all must suffer with it. The Church in England, and the Church in Ireland have no separate interests, have no separate being; *They must stand or fall together*. The United Church of England and Ireland is *one and indivisible*. It was made so by solemn national compact in the Act of Union. This identity constitutes the fundamental article of Union; we might as properly speak of two Houses of Commons, two Houses of Peers, two Sovereigns, two complete legislatures, the one for England, the other for Ireland, as speak of two distinct Churches. The national faith of both countries is pledged equally to maintain one Church, one King, one House of Commons, one House of Lords.

The Church in England and in Ireland, *one*.

If parliament therefore were to subvert or remodel our Church Establishment in Ireland, it would break the Union, and if it break the Union, it will enact its own destruction; it will enact a revolution; and of such a revolution the fruit would be nothing else than anarchy and public ruin.'

Character,
and sanc-
tion, of their
union.

"The temporal union" adds Mr. Stephen's, "of the Churches of England and Ireland was the necessary consequence of the Legislative Union of the two kingdoms; and the title of *United Church* followed as a matter of course. No synodical sanction was requisite to make this title valid; for ecclesiastically considered, it is clear that the Churches had previously been united; being one in doctrine and discipline, and bishops translated from one to the other," a union which would have been much strengthened and cemented, had not only English clergymen been occasionally made Irish bishops, but also Irish clergymen eminent for learning and high character been occasionally made bishops in England. So far however was this from being the case, that for ages prior to the Union, it was the English plan to govern Ireland by a system of exclusion. While the best of Irishmen were deemed unworthy to fill bishoprics or other places of high emolument or dignity in the English Church, Englishmen, frequently far their inferiors, were constantly without scruple promoted to the positions most considerable for income and rank in the Irish establishment, political considerations of no very exalted order exercising a dominant influence, where ecclesiastical circumstances and religious motives ought alone to have weight.

The continued
existence of the
Church in
Ireland in-

To the bishop's observations above cited, *so far as necessarily connected with the object he had immediately in view in them*, I have no objection; but must regard them on the contrary as both forc-

ble and useful. But no such consideration should ever lead us to forget that the *Church of Ireland* has always, by the mercy of God maintained, even from the beginning, its continued existence and life ; not merely as an offset from the *Church of England*, or as a graft whose life at any time depended on its connection with that Church ; but rather, as a "fruit tree yielding seed, whose seed is in itself after its kind." By avoiding the unnecessary use of the phrase, Church of England, as here suggested, and adopting that of "the Church of Ireland," we get rid, in our controversy with Irish Romanists, of a name which often tends only to mystify and embarrass our argument with a needless introduction of political ideas ; the name of England having no proper connection with the questions of most consequence to us here, *viz.*—Whether the Catholic and Apostolic faith, as once delivered to the saints, be now taught in the Church of Rome—or whether the modern Romish Communion in Ireland be the rightful inheritor of the authority, or a trustworthy expositor of the doctrines, of the old Irish Church of Patrick and Columbkil. Thus too we keep farther away from any foolish logomachy relative to the falsehood of the *Nag's Head Consecration*, which concerns us in Ireland not much more than does the story of *Pope Joan*.

dependent
of its con-
nection
with Eng-
land.

Importance
of a correct
phraseology
in treating
of this mat-
ter.

No. LXXVI.

MR. T. MOORE'S HISTORY OF IRELAND.

(In Lardner's Encyclopædia, 4 vols. Lond., 1835.)

Occasion of
noticing Mr.
Moore's
History of
Ireland in
this place.

The work above named is one which claims attention on many grounds. It is largely recommended to general notice by insertion in the well-known series of which it forms a part. It comes from the pen of the most famous of modern Irish poets,—from one whose talents have been thought worthy of a pension from the crown of these realms,—and from the only Romanist layman who has in recent times compiled such a history. The views it promulgates are also, for the most part, of that moderate character, which is likely to render the work popular and influential among a very large class of the most respectable persons belonging to the writer's communion. From all these considerations, it has been thought proper to subjoin here some extracts from the work in question, illustrative of its style and sentiments, which will probably be read with interest, and not without advantage, by many, both Churchmen and Romanists, of those into whose hands the present volume may find its way; as they throw in some cases a

useful light (especially considering the quarter from which they come) on views and statements put forth in different places of this "Primer."

In VOL. I. pp. 237-240, our author speaks "respecting the nature of the religious doctrines and observances taught by the earliest Christian preachers in Ireland," seeking to prove them altogether accordant with those now cherished in the Church of Rome. *E. g.* from expressions used by, or attributed to the old Irish, he endeavours to fasten transubstantiation on them; which might as easily be done for the Church of Ireland now from her Catechism. "The ancient practice," he says, "of offering up *prayers for the dead*, and the belief of a *middle state* of existence after this life, upon which this practice is founded, formed also part of their creed, though of the locality of the purgatorial fire, their notions were, like those of the ancient fathers, vague and undefined," (p. 238.) "An old life of S. Brendan," says "the prayer of the living doth much profit the dead;" and we have an old Irish Canon "Of the oblation for the dead," &c., &c. Invocation of Saints is instanced in the Life of St. Brigid; and so forth. One point however of the modern Romish system this author admits, in the following passage, to be of novel invention:—

He represents the ancient Irish as thorough-going Romanists,

acknowledging a difference only in the matter of clerical celibacy.

(p. 239.) "The only point indeed either of doctrine or discipline—and under this latter head alone the exception falls,—in which the least difference, of any moment, can be detected between the religion professed by the first Irish Christians, and that of the Catholics [*understand*, Romanists] of the present day, is with respect to the marriage of the clergy, which, as appears from the same sources of evidence that have furnished all the foregoing proofs, was, though certainly not approved of, yet permitted and practised. Besides a number of incidental proofs of this fact, the Sixth Canon of the Synod attributed to St. Patrick enjoins, that 'the clerk's wife shall not walk out without having her head veiled.'"—(p. 240.)

In a note 'appended to this passage Mr. Moore introduces a remark from Dr. Milner, intimating that "it is thought by some that the words of the canon apply only to the inferior ranks of the clergy."—(*ib.*)

On the cardinal topic of papal supremacy Mr. Moore delivers himself thus:—

Specimen of
Mr. M.'s
proof that
the old Irish
held papal
supremacy.

(p. 237.) "An attempt has been made, enforced by the learning of the admirable Ussher, to prove that the Church founded by St. Patrick in Ireland held itself independent of Rome, and on most of the leading points of Christian doctrine professed the opinions maintained at present by Protestants. But rarely, even in the warfare of religious controversy, has there been hazarded an assertion so little grounded upon fact. In addition to the original link formed with Rome, from her having appointed the first Irish missionaries, we find in a Canon of one of the earliest synods held in Ireland [*when, or where, let those tell who can,*] a clear acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Roman see. Nor was this re-

cognition confined merely to words; as on the very first serious occasion of controversy which presented itself,—the dispute relative to the time of celebrating Easter,—it was resolved, conformably to the words of this Canon, that 'the question should be referred to the head of cities,' and a deputation being accordingly despatched to Rome for the purpose, the Roman practice, on this point was ascertained and adopted." [Or rather, the custom of Rome, Greece, Egypt, and other foreign Churches, was ascertained, and adopted by St. Cummián, and some others of the Irish; who by the popular voice of the majority of their countrymen were condemned as heretics and apostates, for their concessions in this matter to the authority of the foreign Churches, in opposition, as it was alleged, to the tradition of the apostles, and most eminent of native Irish saints.—R. K.]

"It is true," remarks Mr. Moore elsewhere, (vol. ii. p. 193.) "from the secluded position of Ireland, and still more from the ruin brought upon all her religious establishments during the long period of the Danish wars, the intercourse with Rome must have been not unfrequently interrupted, and the powers delegated to the prelate of Armagh, as *legatus natus*, [Where in the world did Mr. Moore find out this?] or by virtue of his office legate of the holy see, may in such intervals have served as a substitute for the direct exercise for the papal authority. But that the Irish Church has ever, at any period, been independent of the spiritual power of Rome, is a supposition which the whole course of our ecclesiastical history contradicts. On the contrary, it has been frequently a theme of high eulogium upon this country, as well among foreign as domestic writers, that hers is the only national Church in the world which has kept itself pure from the taint of heresy and schism." [This however, to a more judicious examiner, would only prove, when the facts of the history are taken into considera-

His notion
of a *legatus*
natus for
Ireland

tion, that men might be altogether independent of Roman supremacy, without incurring censure, either as being heretical or schismatical, from those writers with whom such eulogium originated.]

Of the business transacted in the Synod of Kells, A.D. 1152, Mr. Moore speaks thus, (vol. ii. p. 191).—

Canons of
Kells, A.D.
1152, on
clerical cel-
lacy, tithes,
&c.

“ Besides the distribution of the palliums, the chief affairs that appear to have occupied the attention of the Synod of Kells were some enactments against simony and usury, as well as against the prevalence of marriage and concubinage among the clergy. There was also promulgated among the acts at this council, an order from the Cardinal, in virtue of his apostolic authority, for the payment of tithes—the first introduction as it appears of that perennial source of discord into this country.”

To this paragraph is appended a note of the following purport:—

Dr. Lanigan censured for want of candour in his account of this Synod.

“ It was surely unworthy of Dr. Lanigan, besides being short-sighted as a matter of policy, to suppress all mention, as he has done in his account of this council, of the above enactment against the marriage and concubinage of the clergy. He has himself, in another part of his work, (ch. 32, 38,) referred to some canons of the Irish Church, relating to the marriage of monks and clerks, which, combined with other proofs, leaves not a doubt that on this point of discipline some of the Irish clergy followed the example set them at that time by their reverend brethren on the continent.”

Concerning J. Scotus Erigena, and his views of the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Mr. M. says :—

"The treatise written by him upon the subject no longer exists; but the general opinion is that he denied the Real Presence, and the natural bent of his mind to run counter to prevailing and sanctioned opinions, renders it most probable that such was his view of this now for the first time controverted mystery. In stating, however, as he is said to have done, that the sacrament of the Eucharist is not the 'true body and true blood,' he might have had reference solely to the doctrine put forth then recently by Paschasius Radbert, who maintained that the body present in the Eucharist was the same carnal and palpable body which was born of the Virgin, which suffered on the cross, and rose from the dead; whereas the belief of the Catholic Church on this point of doctrine, has always been, that the body of Christ is under the symbols not corporeally, or carnally, but in a spiritual manner."—(vol. i. p. 305.)

Of the views concerning the Lord's Supper held by J. S. Erigena, &c.

In connection with the rebellion of E. Bruce occurs what next follows :—

(Vol III. p. 67.) "Through all the calamities and reverses that now befel the national cause, the spirit of the people was chiefly sustained by the exhortations of their clergy; for it is a fact worthy of notice, that the Church of the Irish, and the Church of the English, in that country, were at this time, as widely divided by their difference in language and race, as they have been at any period since by their difference in creed. A strong proof of the sort of feeling with which the native ecclesiastics

The Church in Ireland schismatically divided in the fourteenth century.

regarded all who belonged to the race of their English rulers is to be found in a regulation of the abbey of Mellifont, dated A.D. 1322, determining that no person whatsoever should be admitted into that abbey, until he had taken an oath that he was not of English descent. [See Cox.] They but followed too in this exclusive spirit the example set them by their rulers, who strictly forbade under severe penalties, the admission of natives into any of the religious communities established within the English bounds."

Mr. Moore's
view of the
Querimonia
Magnatum
Hibernie.

Some of the Anglo-Irish clergy, Moore then adds, were sympathisers with Bruce, after which he proceeds thus:—"Complaints had been made by the English monarch to pope Innocent [*sic.*] XXII., with whom he stood high in favour, of the disloyal conduct of the Irish clergy; and a letter was addressed accordingly by his holiness to the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, empowering them to admonish, and if necessary excommunicate, all such rebels to the English crown . . . This interposition in aid of the views of their haughty oppressors, was felt the more keenly by the great body of the Irish chieftains, as coming from a quarter to which the ancient fame of their country for sanctity and learning might well have encouraged them to look for sympathy and support. In the warmth of this feeling a memorable remonstrance was addressed to the pope by O'Neill, &c." The object of which was, according to Mr. M. "to denounce and indignantly protest against that ultramontane party, in the Irish Church, which was now leagued with the Roman Court in abetting the English kings projects for the subjugation of Ireland." (pp. 72, 77.)

The notion of the *two Churches* in Ireland before the Reformation above thrown out, is somewhat further developed in the following passage:—

"Much of the opposition thus shewn to the government by the Irish clergy, proceeded doubtless from political divisions within the church itself:—as even at that period, when all were of one faith, the Church of the government and the Church of the people, in Ireland, were almost as much separated from each other by difference in race, language, political feeling, and even ecclesiastical discipline, as they have been at any period since, by difference in creeds. The attempt made by the Synod of Cashel, in that year, to assimilate the Irish Church in its rites and discipline, to that of England, entirely failed of its object; and the native clergy and people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the decrees of that memorable synod had never been issued. Disheartening as may be some of the conclusions* too plainly deducible from this fact, it clearly shews at least, that the establishment of the Reformed Church in that kingdom was not the first or sole cause of the bitter hostility between its two races." (Vol. iii. p. 114.)

Opposition between the Church of the government and the Church of the people.

At p. 259 of the same vol. we read thus:—

"It was about this time that the sentence of excommunication, in its most vengeful and tremendous form, was issued against Lord Thomas [Fitzgerald] and his uncles John and Oliver, for the cruel murder of Allen, Archbishop of Dublin."

Notice of the form of excommunication of Ld. Thos. Fitzgerald.

(*Note ib.*) "*State Papers*, lxxxi. The following extract will give some notion of the awful violence of this curse:—

* One very obvious conclusion of the kind, which may well seem disheartening enough to a certain class of political speculators, is, that the complete overthrow and ruin of the present "Established Church" in Ireland would not effect one particle towards the improved pacification of the country, so long as any of the English race, English political feeling, &c., have power in it or over it.

'We invoke and call in vengeance against the said Thomas, and every of the persons aforesaid, the celestial place of heaven, with all the multitude of the angels, that they be accursed before them, and in their sight as spirits condemned; and the devil to stand and be, in all their doings, on their right hand; and all their acts to be sinful, and not acceptable before God . . . that God Almighty may rain upon them the flames of fire and sulphur to their eternal vengeance; and that they may clothe themselves with the malediction and high curse, as they daily clothe themselves with their garments.'"

For those who would suppose Henry VIII. to have been of the Reformed or Protestant faith, it may be well to quote a passage or two bearing on this point, (from pp. 293, 294, *ib.*)

Protestants
and main-
tainers of
papal supre-
macy alike
persecuted
by Henry
VIII.

"The penal power was indeed in his hands a double edged sword, for whose frightful sweep his complaisant legislators had provided victims from both religions. For as all who denied the king's supremacy were declared traitors, and all who rejected *the papal creed* were pronounced heretics, the freest scope was afforded to cruelty, for the alternate indulgence of its tastes, whether in hanging conscientious [R.] Catholics for treason, or sending protestants to perish in the flames for heresy. On one occasion singled out of many, the horrible fruits of this policy were strikingly exhibited. In the same cart were conveyed to execution three [R.] Catholics and three protestants; the former for denying the kings supremacy, the latter for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. The [R.] Catholics were hanged, drawn and quartered, the protestants burned.

"In the year 1539 the last of those spiritual ordinances by which Henry sought to coerce the very com-

sciences of his subjects, made its appearance in the form of an Act for abolishing diversity of opinions ; or as it was called,—from the savage cruelty with which its enactments were enjoined—the Bloody Statute of the Six Articles. This violent law, by which almost all the principal [R.] Catholic doctrines were enjoined peremptorily, under pain of death and forfeiture, was aimed with ominous malignity, against those of the king's own ministers, who while appearing to adopt so obsequiously all his views, were he knew secretly pledged disciples of the new German school of faith."

On the question, how far any portion of the Reformed faith was received among the public at large in the days of Henry VIII. our historian writes as follows :—

(p. 300.) " So narrow in fact was the footing gained at this time by the new doctrines, even among the higher authorities of the pale, that with the exception of lord James Butler, the master of the Rolls, the vice-treasurer, Brabazon, the archbishop of Dublin, and one or two others of little note, all the official personages constituting the government, including the lord deputy himself, remained still attached to the ancient faith.

How far the Reformed doctrines had spread in Ireland under Henry VIII.

" The only test or symbol of the new orthodoxy required as yet from either ecclesiastics or laymen, was the taking of the oath binding them to acknowledge the king's supremacy ; and it may be presumed that neither by the clergy nor laity was this substitution of the supremacy of the crown for that of the pope considered as a change seriously affecting their faith, since almost all the native lords and clergy came forward, as we shall see presently to confirm their allegiance by this form of oath. If in place of a mere acknowledgement of the king's supremacy,

Indifference of the Irish generally, as to holding regal, or papal, supremacy, in this age.

a claim the extent of which neither the chiefs, nor perhaps the clergy themselves clearly understood,—the renunciation of some tenet or observance endeared and hallowed by old tradition and daily habit, had been demanded as the pledge of orthodoxy, the same tranquil submission would not have attended the first advances of the reformed creed.”

[* The note appended here quotes the *State Papers*, No. ccxvii. (Agard to Cromwell.)]

That Mr. Moore was possessed of the true key for understanding some of the martyrdom tales, which have been with such skilful design embroidered on the fabric of the Irish Reformation, may be seen in our next extract. (p. 304, *ib.*)

Mr. Moore
disposes of a
“Catholic
Martyr.”

“Some overzealous Irish writers, unwilling to admit that so long an interval of peace and tolerance could have been enjoyed thus under a government almost entirely English, have brought forth one alleged instance of religious martyrdom in the person of Dr. John Travers, an Irish secular priest, who published a book in defence of the papal supremacy. Had it been for writing this controversial work that capital punishment was inflicted on Travers, his right to the place he holds in the Irish martyrology could not have been questioned. But this was by no means the case:—he had taken a most active part in Lord Thomas Fitz Gerald’s rebellion, and it was for this offence that, having been tired and found guilty of treason he was executed at Tyburn.” [*Not.* Cox, Ware’s Writers.*] Such is the single alleged instance of severe punishment, on account of religion, which even by those most desirous to fix such a charge

on the Irish government, could be referred to during the whole of the thirteen years that elapsed from the first introduction of the reformed creed, to the last days of this reign.

"The notion prevailing at this time among the alarmists of the pale, and since adopted by all our historians, that religion was a leading motive of the late league among the chiefs appears to be but little sustained by recorded facts So little indeed did Henry's spiritual claims alarm the consciences of the native chiefs, that a year or two after, when entering the articles of submission, all the most eminent among them readily took the oath, acknowledging the king supreme head of the Church."

The "extinguishment of the Bp. of Rome" no trouble to the consciences of the Irish chiefs ;

This compliance of the chieftains we find noticed again a little further on :—

(p. 323 *ib.*) "In allowing full credit to the English monarch for the mild and tolerant character of his policy towards Ireland, it must at the same time be recollected, that the facility with which all the great Irish leaders agreed to reject the pope's supremacy, and acknowledge the king their spiritual head, removed all grounds for any such sanguinary persecution as raged at the same period on the other side of the channel. Not content with his formal renouncement of Rome, O'Brian, in a paper entitled 'the Irishmens' requests,' demanded that 'there should be sent over some well learned Irishmen brought up in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with the poison of the bishop of Rome, and that having been first approved by the king's majesty, they should then be sent to preach the word of God in Ireland.'"

who proved on the contrary most ready abettors of this act.

In the history of the next reign, (that of Ed. VI.) the same topic is again introduced by our author, (Vol. iv. p. 8.)

The distinction between Romanist and Protestant not yet observed with strictness under Ed. VI

"The same acquiescence, or rather indifference which marked the reception of the reformed doctrines on their first appearance, still continued its calming influence during the first years of this reign

"Whatever compunction might haply be felt by some of the more thinking Irish lords for having adopted Henry VIII. as their spiritual head [i.e. supreme governor] upon earth, it is clear that the greater number of them were far more occupied with their new titles and possessions, than with any such religious or conscientious qualms. So far indeed was the distinction between [R.] Catholic and Protestant from being yet observed with any rigour, that at this time as a learned historian has it 'the same year produced bishops of each sort' [A. Magenis, Dromore, a Romanist, and T. Lancaster, Kildare, a Protestant. At p. 9 Mr. Moore adds,] The government, as well as the great mass of the people, looked on with indifference at the religious change now in progress."

And again, in connection with the history of the establishment of the Reformation under Elizabeth, (pp. 21, 22, *ib.*):—

Establishment of the reformed religion under Q. Elizabeth.

"That ambitious and wordly laymen should be found thus pliant in their religious policy, is not perhaps remarkable; but in the present instance it was among the spiritual lords of parliament that this ready compliance with the new change of creed was most glaringly shewn. For out of the 19 prelates who sat in the Irish house of

peers, there were only two, Welsh of Meath and Levrous of Kildare, who so far consulted the dictates of conscience and consistency as to refuse the oath of supremacy, and thereby forfeit their respective sees. While thus obsequiously all the new changes in Church and State were acquiesced in by most of the ecclesiastical authorities, many of the temporal lords still clung to the ancient creed; and some there were in whose descendants even to this day the old titles are still connected with the old faith.

"Although the Anglo Irish legislature had now for the second time gone through the forms of adopting the Protestant creed, it was only in the few counties constituting the Pale that the new ecclesiastical system had yet acquired any footing; and all the great mass of the population remained still firmly [R.] Catholic . . .

We have seen how little the first advances of the new creed under Henry VIII. awakened the fear or alarmed the consciences of the Irish chieftains of that day; who doubtless persuaded themselves that by the assertion of the crown's supremacy a political rather than a religious ascendancy was meant to be established. Not even the act which degraded the popedom to the rank of a mere foreign bishopric could rouse in the O'Neill of that day any burst of religious resentment; though to him the [R.] Catholic nations then anxiously looked as a chosen champion of 'the glory of the Mother Church.' "

How far the chieftains understood, or cared for, the supremacy question.

Yet after having so plainly admitted in the above passage the incontrovertible fact, that it was the Old Church of Ireland, acting by its lawful prelates, that had adopted the Reformed faith, or complied "with the new change of creed" as he expresses it, Mr. Moore presently

Mr. M. speaks improperly of a new church set up in the Reformation.

speaks thus inconsistently and falsely of the establishing of a *new church* in the country, as though the old prelates had been all deprived and superseded :—

(p. 26.) “To all these other materials of strife and mischief was now beginning to be added the venom of religious schism,—a new church having been set up in the land, which was not that of the people, or their sires.”

Character of
Desmond as
a champion
of religion.

Of the merits of some of the “Catholic” leaders of that age, however, he appears to have formed a tolerably just estimate ; as for instance, at p. 36 :—

“Desmond has been always celebrated by [R.] Catholic historians as one of the champions of the ancient Irish Church. But the cause of religion might well have dispensed with such defenders as this weak and turbulent lord, who although possessing some popular qualities, passed his life during its short season of prosperity in a constant course of tyranny and exaction, oppressive to all those who came within the sweep of his rude sway.”

To the days of the agitating James Fitz Maurice, [A.D. 1568] Mr. M. refers the first effective enlisting of the sympathies of Romish powers abroad in favour of the plots hatched in Ireland against the British government :—

“It was not,” says he, (p. 67 *ib.*) “till the period we

have now reached that the leading [R.] Catholic powers [of Europe] became alive to the obvious importance of enlisting Irish alliance in 'the formidable league which had long been gathering against the power and creed of England It was to Spain that the confederate forces under Fitzmaurice now looked for aid, and James Mac Caghwell the titular archbishop of Cashel, was sent accompanied by the youngest son of the Earl of Desmond, as ambassadors to the Spanish monarch, to ask his aid 'for the rescue of their country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth.'"

Notice of some particulars connected with the rebellion of J. Fitzmaurice.

How far the promoting of true religion, or any religion, occupied an uppermost place in the plans of J. Fitzmaurice had been already explained to the reader at p. 63 ; where it is intimated that —

"seeing the head of his illustrious family led a prisoner to England, he felt that on him the *task of vengeance* had now devolved. Taking the command of his kin the Geraldines, he joined in league with the Munster chiefs, and announced through his emissaries to the [R.] Catholic powers of Europe, that their call to arms had found a response in that sainted seat of the ancient creed of Christendom, Ireland."

His motive: not religion, but revenge.

We may notice that James Mac Caghwell, whose name occurs in the second last extract was no titular bishop, as Mr. Moore there oddly represents him, but a regular lawful prelate, duly appointed in the usual course, and a loyal subject of the queen, as having had her authority to

Whether Abp. Mac-Caghwell went as a rebel ambassador to Spain.

sanction his promotion. And he did not therefore, of course, go as a rebel ambassador to Spain. The person who was guilty of this crime was (I suppose) the murderous Maurice (Reagh) Fitz Gibbon, titular Archbishop of Cashel, who after his bloody attack on Mac Caghwell in 1567, fled to Spain* and was acting there as an ambassador for the Irish rebels in the following year 1568. Mr. Moore seems to have had some confused apprehension of his error shortly after, as we find him at p. 81, alluding obviously to the same transactions in the following terms:—

M. Reagh, titr. abp. of Cashel enjoys a pension in Spain.

“We have seen that on the outbreak of James Fitz Maurice, in the 1570, he despatched as his emissary into Spain, Maurice Reagh, the [R.] Catholic [titular] archbishop of Cashel, and this prelate was now found by Stukely [on his rebellious departure from his allegiance, and retreat into Spain,] still in that country, enjoying a pension from the Spanish monarch, and waiting the turn of public events.”

Note on the expression

That Mr. M. does not intentionally misapply the epithet of *titular* appears from his use of the

* Bp. Mant *Ck. Hist.* i. 285, appears to represent this matter inaccurately. After mentioning the assault of M. Reagh on the archbp., on the authority of Ware (*Bps.* p. 483,) he goes on to speak of the embassy of the *titular bishops of Cashel and Emly* into Spain in 1568, referring to Cox, i. 333. Cox I am unable to refer to here, not having the work within reach. But as Cashel and Emly were united in 1568, I suppose “*the titular bishops of Cashel and Emly*” is an error, for “*the titular archbishop of Cashel, who was also titular Bp. of Emly.*” See pp. 1215, 1283, 1387, sup.

word elsewhere. Thus, in making mention of R. Waucop, he speaks of him as one who "had been blind from his birth and was at this time (1550) titular archbishop of Armagh," i.e. "appointed to that see by the pope, and recognised as its prelate by the Romish Council of Trent, but rejected by the Irish clergy and people at large," who preferred being under the rule of their lawful primate, "the archbishop of Armagh, Dowdall, a man of gravity, &c.," as Mr. M. justly describes him. (*Hist. of Id.* iv. pp. 7, 9.)

titular, as
employed by
Mr. Moore.

Of the first employment of the plea of "contending for liberty of conscience" in justification of the wars of the Irish chiefs against England, Mr. M. informs his readers as follows, (pp. 107, 108):—

"On the part of the chiefs, [H. O'Neill and his associates, A.D. 1596] several demands, or rather stipulations were likewise made, and among them was an important proviso, for the free exercise of religion.

"In reference to this latter point a writer of that period" [*Notes*. Moryson] remarks, that 'never before had this free exercise of religion been either punished or inquired after.' That such was the case with regard to Ireland, there can be no doubt; although by most [R.] Catholic historians, the wars of Ireland, during this reign have been represented as having originated almost solely in religious differences. But so far was religion from holding as yet this ascendant place in their views, that at the time when Tyrone commenced his public career, some of the most powerful of the old [R.] Catholic nobility, (without taking into account the declared

The wars of
Elizabeth's
reign due to
other causes
than persecu-
tion on
account of
religion.

apostates from the faith, [i.e. the Reformed Catholics of Ireland]) were found arrayed on the side of loyalty and the Queen. The facility indeed with which some of the great Irish lords, O'Neill, O'Brien, and others, acquiesced in the first steps of the Reformation, had set an example, which though not very orthodox or dignified, continued for a long time its calming influence; nor was it till the period we have now reached, that religious strife began to extend its rage to Ireland, or first kindled up that war of creeds between the two races, by which both have been almost equally disgraced and demoralised."

One more passage from our author, chiefly for the sake of noticing a strange error which occurs in it, and we shall have done :—

Mr. Moore's notice of the Act for the Attainder of H. O'Neill, &c. (p. 168.) "To this measure, [the attainder of H. O'Neill and his confederates] much to their shame, the whole of the [R.] Catholic party gave their assent; thus sacrificing to an unworthy compromise all those national hopes and sympathies with which for upwards of thirty years, the name of Tyrone had been deeply associated. Still more faithless was it in those spiritual lords who had hailed this chief as the chosen champion of the [R.] Catholic church, to forsake him now in his fallen condition. Yet such was ultimately the result of this hollow and time-serving coalition. In the commons the bill was moved by Sir J. Everard, a recusant knight, and passed unanimously; while in the upper house, only one courageous prelate, the titular archbishop of Tuam, [!] gave his vote against the attainder."

How "the titular archbishop of Tuam" [i.e. Florence Conroy, vid. pp. 890, 910, *not. sup.*]

could contrive to give a vote in the Lords, and on such an occasion, astonishing and perplexing as it may seem to the reader, Mr. M. leaves entirely unexplained. I suppose the vote in question was given in the *recusant Council of war*, which preceded, and led to, the change of policy on the part of the Irish Romanists, mentioned at p. 884 sup. (Vid. Phelan, *Policy*, &c. p. 270, note.)

No. LXXVII.

SOME ALLEGED EVIDENCES OF THE BARBARITY OF THE ANCIENT IRISH, CONSIDERED.

Mr. Wright, author of the *Literature and Superstitions of England in the Middle Ages*, has made free to introduce into that work some very ill-judged observations on the character of the ancient Irish people, which it may not be amiss to notice here; as our doing so may help in some quarters to guard unwary readers against allowing themselves to be misled by such erroneous reasoning as this author alleges in support of his conclusions.

Whether the ancient Irish were a wild and barbarous people.

In vol. ii. pp. 216, 217, he writes thus:—

"In spite of all that has been advanced to the con-
VOL III. 2 P

That they were such, a recent author attempts to prove.

trary, we still continue to look upon the ancient Irish as a wild and barbarous people. Such were they found when the Romans entered Britain; such were they in the time of the Saxons; and their character was not changed for the better when the Anglo Normans succeeded in establishing themselves in the isle. For ages they had infested by their piratical depredations the coasts of England and Wales. When during the days of Saxon rule a rebellious noble had been defeated in his projects, he fled immediately to Ireland to recruit his strength; and at its conquest at the end of the twelfth century, the country was full of English slaves, who had been purloined from their homes. Such being the case, we need not wonder if our kings sometimes contemplated the conquest of Ireland as a matter of policy; and it appears from the Saxon chronicle, that William the Conqueror had himself formed the design of reducing it to a dependence on the British crown."

Dermot Mac Murrough adduced as an illustration.

Again, (at p. 228 *ib.*) "Giraldus has preserved an anecdote, strikingly characteristic of the savage manners of the Irish of this period. Among the heads which were thrown on the ground before him, Dermot [Mac Murrough] recognised one as that of a person who had been peculiarly obnoxious to him: as he danced exultingly among the heads of his foes, he suddenly seized upon this one, raised it by the ears to his mouth, and with a barbarous joy, bit off the nose and part of the lips."

Alleged effects of the Conquest.

And at p. 255, "The chronicles of the time tell us how the barbarous manners of the natives were suddenly improved and polished by the more vigorous government under which they were placed" after the Conquest.

Note, ib.—"All the documents of the period agree in representing Ireland as not only a land of savages, but as a den of thieves. William of Newbury, (lib. 3. c. 9.)

speaking of the manners of the people of Ulster at the time of their conquest by De Courcy, says, 'The people of this province,' &c., as at p. 524 sup.

Now it is not denied, that, by the dreadful visitation of the Danish wars, civilization and improvement of every kind were greatly reduced, and brought to a very wretched and pitiable condition in Ireland, or that various disorderly and criminal practices were lamentably prevalent in the country at the period of the Conquest. But to exaggerate these unhappy circumstances in such a tissue of reckless and mischievous misrepresentation as developes itself in the above extracts, is a course, to say the least of it, altogether unworthy of a respectable and intelligent writer, and one deserving the reprobation of every well-minded and honest individual.

The existence in Ireland of much that was barbarous justifies not the tone of the above extracts.

For let us but look these statements in the face. "The Irish were barbarous when the Romans invaded Britain." They were, and so were the people of Britain likewise. "Such were the Irish in the time of the Saxons." Nay, this is utterly false, as every smatterer in history may know that the Irish were then distinguished for their learning at home and abroad, and their bishops and other teachers, colleges, and schools, were the means of converting and

The representations they convey examined.

Whether the Irish were barbarous in the Saxon age.

Egfrid more
barbarous.

The slave-
dealing of
the old Irish
considered,

enlightening the Saxons themselves, as they gratefully acknowledged in many ways, and as their own historian Bede fully records. Nor was any barbarous act of the Irish in the Saxon age so flagrant, as that which the venerable Saxon historian tells of some of his own people, (l. iv. c. 26,) that "in the year of our Lord's incarnation 684, Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, despatched his general Berct, with an army, into Ireland, and miserably wasted an inoffensive people, who had ever shewn the most friendly feeling to the English nation; inso-much that in the violence of their onslaught, they spared not even the churches and monasteries;" for which impiety, as the same writer supposes, they were visited the next year with judgments from heaven. "But the Irish used to invade other countries, bring away captives, and keep them for slaves." The heathen Irish certainly did undertake predatory expeditions out of their own land, as did also the ancient Chaldeans, Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans, who are not generally regarded as having been "barbarous;" and the Saxons themselves, and Normans likewise, who should otherwise never have taken England from its earlier owners for themselves. "But even the Christian Irish kept slaves." To be regretted, certainly: although we do not read that they encouraged people to

steal them, or treated them with such cruelty as the Americans and others do to this day. An Irish slave was treated as a fellow-creature, and employed about such occupations of herding cattle, &c., as farm-servants and other domestics engage in voluntarily at present. And how did Ireland come to be full of slaves at the time of the Conquest? Ask *Giraldus*;—and he will tell you (pp. 501, 502 sup.) that it was the unnatural English of that age themselves, who for mere love of money would sell their own children and relatives to strangers: and that of the two parties, the Irish appear to have been those who were most ready to shew compunction, and exhibit in a practical way their penitence for having had a share in this heartless traffic, by proclaiming *abolition of slavery* in their island, before ever England had adopted such a course. Shame, shame to the writer, who could then bring it as a reproach to the ancient Irish that those slaves were *purloined* from England by them, when the gross falsehood of such a statement is so plainly manifest. “But used not rebellious nobles, defeated in England, come to Ireland to recruit their strength, and get shelter and protection?” And why not? Is it any proof of barbarity in London that it shelters all such characters, defeated in all parts of Europe and elsewhere, and harbours, protects, and aids them now. When two Welsh princes

and their accuser convicted of scandalous misrepresentation.

Note on the aid given to factious nobles in England by the Irish.

quarrelled, what law of nations forbade one of them to seek aid in Ireland, or an Irish king to aid which party he might please? Or if it were an English earl that rose against an English king, might not the Irish according to their own discretion interfere to aid the weaker party, when they were themselves no subjects of England at the time, but an independent people;—as justly as the English could interfere, as they did, with the royalties of Ireland.

Wm. Newbury's Easter tale noticed.

As for the story told by William of Newbury, it is very probable that some disorderly and foolish people, in the locality where the narrator lived, may have observed such Easter customs as he mentions; but not being spoken of elsewhere, they could hardly have been generally prevalent in the province, and are not worth particular notice here.

The Anglo-Norman improvement of Ireland not unqualified.

And for the notices of the improvement of Ireland under the Normans, (which are however to be read with attention to Prov. xxvii. 2,) as there was great room for improvement, they may easily be in part true. But the Anglo-Normans themselves were answerable for tutoring the Irish, by their wicked example in many instances, in deeds of horrid barbarity and most atrocious perfidy. (Vid. pp. 1030, 1127, 1128, sup.)

Dermot Mac Murrough's connection,

“But what of Dermot Mac Murrough?” At all events he was not more “barbarous” than

many murderers born in England within the past century. The Irish, however, expelled him from their island for his crimes, as a "beastly prince;" while the Anglo-Normans and their Welsh abettors received him with open arms to their sympathy and confidence, and found in him a congenial friend and most effective ally in the execution of their scheme for the conquest of Ireland.

After having heard so much, one other question remains, which may now interest the reader, viz., Who is this author that has been thus rashly aspersing the ancient people of Ireland, or how far may his name be considered influential in the literary world? To this inquiry the following reply is furnished in the *Quarterly Review* of March, 1848, in the article on Antiquarian Club Books, pag. 319:—

to whom disgraceful?

Some account of the author of the calumnies above noticed.

"Mr. Wright, the coadjutor in the *Reliquiæ*, and one of the chief working members of the Camden and other societies, has employed himself during a pretty long period with the literature of the middle ages, and has had considerable practice in extracting and editing MSS. reliques of various sorts. On the strength of this he has in a manner constituted himself editor general in Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, Middle English, and Middle Latin, and seems to be regarded by a certain clique as a supreme authority in all departments of archæology. He has indeed some requisites for making himself useful in a field where industrious workmen are greatly wanted.

Extent of his literary qualifications.

But his activity is so counterbalanced by want of scholarship and acumen, that he can never be more than a third or fourth-rate personage, bearing about the same relationship to a scientific philologist and antiquarian that a law stationer does to a barrister, or a country druggist to a physician."

The *Quarterly* then proceeds to illustrate this judgment of our author, by adducing in proof of its correctness a number of absurdly amusing mistakes observable in some of his literary productions; in summing up which, it arrives at the apparently just conclusion, that

"A performer capable of blundering so dreadfully where every thing is easy and straightforward, cannot be expected to succeed very well where there is a little scope for criticism."

THE END.

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FINIS.

ERRATA.

- P. 304, note, for 'Nos. V. and VI.' read 'Nos. VI. and VII.'
P. 424, l. 7, the words '*single bishop*' should have been accompanied by a reference to the 'Appendix, No. X.'
P. 452, last line of note, for 'No. X.' read 'No. IX.'
P. 868, line 6 from end, for '*because*' read '*became*.'
P. 876, l. 2, for '*county*,' read '*country*.'
P. 889, l. 21, and marg. *ib.*, for '1603,' read '1608.'
P. 903, margin, for '*intended*,' read '*intruded*.'
P. 1143, margin, l. 4, for '*Den*,' read '*Charnells*.'
P. 1169, l. 1, for 'No. XLL' read No. XLII., and so throughout the article.
P. 1191, l. 9, for 'March 24,' read 'March 25.'
P. 1354, l. 20, for '*is Lisbon*,' read '*in Lisbon*.'
— next line, after '*Spaine*,' insert '*and*.'
P. 1382, line 4 from end, for '*See united to Cashel*,' read '*Cashel and Emly united*.'

To which might be added a few others of less importance, which the reader will not however find any trouble in correcting of his own sagacity.

In some of the sheets containing the *List of Subscribers* which were first printed off, a few names were inadvertently omitted. These will, however, be found inserted in their proper places in the present copy, the pages referred to having, since the printing of these first copies, undergone a careful revision.

It is possible that a few other names may be still unavoidably omitted, in consequence of payments having been made to some third party, with whom a delay has occurred, so as to hinder them from reaching the proper quarter for acknowledgment previously to this date, September 12, 1851.

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